







JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

*The  
Leader of East and West*

BY

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To  
The Memory  
of  
My Father  
Who could not live  
to see the dawn of  
Nehru's Government



## Foreword

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru stands next only to Gandhiji in leading the struggle of India for freedom. Whether a young rebel or a consummate statesman he is the Man of destiny in Modern India. Dynamic and daring, fearless and forceful, he is by common consent one of the most fascinating figures of the twentieth century. In him Indian patriotism and nationalism have reached their highest watermark. No wonder he is the idol of the inarticulate teeming millions of this country. Endowed with unique energy, amazing drive, remarkable mental alertness, his sincerity is transparent and he is an embodiment of self-sacrifice. In the words of Mahatmaji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is "as pure as crystal."

Everywhere in this world the instinct of hero-worship is irrepressible and naturally during the last ten years or so there has been an endless output of Pandit Nehru's biographies. The

latest in the market is by the young journalist, Mr. Ahuja. It is a bewitching booklet written in a polished style. This neat brochure contains eight chapters and two appendices. The talented author has cultivated the art of incisive concision and has given in a pithy and pleasant manner almost all the essential features of the versatile personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He has made a very far-reaching attempt to establish that Pandit Nehru is the leader not only of India, Asia and the east but also west. After going through the book one is likely to be convinced that Jawahar Lal is one of the greatest exponents of the ideology of international socialism.

The author correctly maintains, "Nehru's approach to the problems of mankind is economic. He holds that the real problem before the world is not one of internecine rivalry among nations but that of a conflict between the international forces of 'Haves' and 'Havenots'. It is a continuous struggle in which the wage-earners and peasants of the world are on the one side and the capitalists and landlords on the other. Socialism and democracy are the allies of the former and capitalism and imperialism

the accomplices of the latter." Undoubtedly, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a living symbol of world opposition to political and economic imperialism. Let us take to heart the inimitable words of Panditji, "We worked for the dawn but the long night has continued, and it may continue—how long I do not know. Many of us now in the vanguard of the nation's fight may not live to see the dawn. But the dawn will come. Meanwhile the torch has got to be kept burning to light the path. And I want to know how many brave arms are there amongst you to take this torch from my falling hand. Be worthy of the charge."

16.2.47

(Prof) Abdul Majid Khan.

## Preface

'Who is the bravest man in the civilized world to-day?'

When this question was put to Mr. H. N. Brailsford, an eminent British journalist, he replied : "I think I should name Jawahar Lal Nehru."

Mr. Brailsford supported his reply by referring to Nehru's moral courage in "daring to shoulder the heavy responsibility towards shaping the future of a nation of 400 millions on the eve of its independence.

But when one gives a thought to the fact that just as he has piloted so big a nation during the last two decades with so much success, and has brought it to the doors of independence, one would believe that he would steer it through the transitional period remarkably as well. He 'knows' his nation, its potentialities and weaknesses. He has led it during its

days of dire distress. He has his fingers on its pulse. And it would be easier for him to show it the right path in the coming era.

That the task of leading India at the most important moment ever in her history, has fallen on Nehru's shoulders sometimes comes as a great surprise to many westerners who could never conceive that an agonistic will win the confidence of so 'religious' a people as Indians. But India to-day—poor, starving and under-clothed—has made the best choice in him to guide her to the path of fraternity, equality and prosperity. India is, of course, an abode of many religions. But it is partly for that very reason that a religious leader cannot be expected to win the goodwill of all communities. The person incharge of political and economic destiny of a nation, which has in its fold many religions must represent these aspects of national life as a whole. And Nehru alone can claim to be symbolic of these.

There is nothing metaphysical about Nehru. He is no dogmatist. His best weapon is logic, science or argument. He is a normal human



being, having no inner voice except that of his conscience and rationalism.

Nehru is physically handsome. There is proportion and harmony in him. "He does not remind one, as most people do, of any animal, as Mussolini reminded Churchill of a jackal and as Churchill reminds everybody of a bulldog." (Frances Gunther).

While Gandhiji has been the Dictator of the Indian national movement, Nehru has been his right hand lieutenant. But inspite of this undiluted co-operation the two leaders are made of different metals. Presently swimming in the same boat of Indian nationalism, their ultimate goals are clearly distinct and to some extent even opposite.

Gandhiji's picture of a free India is a federation of village republics, economically self-sufficient and politically autonomous, with individuals living a life of simplicity. In his India there is no place for machinery, big mills and all the paraphernalia of modern science. They kill the soul of the people and reduce them to the position of mechanical serfs. So if he were to

become the dictator he would declare all Bhatnagars, Ramans etc. as outlaws.

But Nehru's vision of an independent India is totally modern. He stands for a strong centralized state which would plan and guide and command all the individuals of the country, for their economic well-being. He would like to see every village of India turn highly industrialized, making the fullest use of scientific methods, and *every* individual prosperous enough to own the amenities of the modern civilized life. He would patronize all Bhatnagars, Ramans and Gills and declare them as the architects of future India.

Nehru is to India what is Stalin to Russia, what Roosevelt was to America or Kemal Pasha to Turkey. He is the builder of modern India and through him the ambitions of the down-trodden people of this ancient land want fulfilment.

To the weaker and slave nations of the world he is a source of inspiration and encouragement. In him they have a very faithful

ally. To the world Nehru is a great force for good. He is a leader of an ideology which has the prospects of world-wide application.

When Mr Winston Churchill was the Premier of Great Britain he declared that he would not become the king's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire but now Pandit Nehru has become the First Premier of India in order to see that all empires, including the British, are soon liquidated.

B.N. Ahuja.

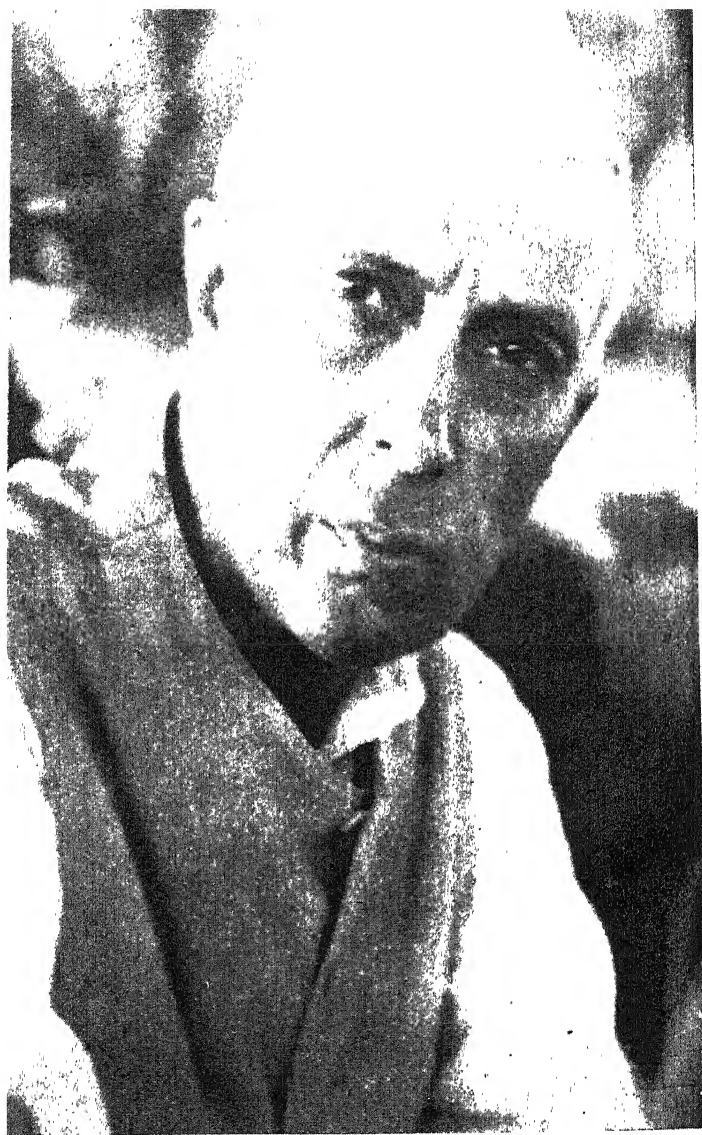
## CONTENTS

Foreword	...	...	....	vii
Preface	...	...	...	x
The Man of Destiny	...	...	...	1
Harbinger of Indian Revolution			...	16
Writer Par Excellence	...	...	....	68
Leader of the World	...	...	...	76
Buck Up China	...	....	...	100
Down with Fascist Franco	...		...	112
Foreign Policy Since September Two			....	126
Smuts Trounced	...	...	...	150
Appendix A. Declaration of Foreign				
Policy	...	...	....	177
Appendix B. Declaration of Objectives				
for Indian Constitution	....		...	187

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## ONE

# The Man of Destiny

In the year 1915 there was thrust on the stage of a small public meeting held in protest against a bureaucratic act suffocating the press, a young man to make the first speech of his life. The young man, hitherto 'diffident and terrified of public speaking', fared well. And as soon as the meeting was over, a well wisher embraced and kissed the young man in the public on the dais, much to his embarrassment.

The young man was Jawahar Lal Nehru and the well wisher, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Who could then know that this insignificant young speaker would one day take millions into audience, pull them up or down as he willed and mould them into a metal of his liking? Who could then dream that in the years to come when he would wander with the hope of freedom and the banner of socialism from town to town and village to village, masses of people, often



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

tens of thousands would gather around him, follow him and act up to his instructions.

The above-mentioned speech was a turning point in Nehru's life and thereby in the life of the Indian National Movement. The ideas and the message which were hitherto locked up in his own mind began to be conveyed to the people at large in India and abroad, through pen and pulpit.

In his ideals the 400 millions of India found a nearest approach to their desires and ambitions. Other leaders had up till then expressed to them merely vague ideas about freedom and nationalism. Nehru clarified the implications of freedom and added socialism to the ideals of the Indian National Congress. A socialistic system in a free India became the aim of the nation. In that lay the solution of the problems of bread and of the miserable plight of the multitudes. In the rest of his life Nehru was to work for its achievement.

He undertook arduous journeys throughout

## THE MAN OF DESTINY

the length and breadth of the country in order to come into direct contact with the vast poor millions and feel their pulse. Peasants flocked in great crowds to the railway stations to receive his message of hope and prosperity. Thousands and thousands of them, unmindful of the rigours of rain in the winter or the scorching heat of sun in the summer, rushed from miles and miles on foot or by horse, in tonga or by bus, expecting the arrival of their hero and waited for hours on the road-side for a word from his lips or for the moment when they would be able to have his *Durshan*. Here after all was the man they had looked for. He was the symbol of their new desires and the expression of their will. He was the man of the masses.

Jawahar Lal Nehru is the idol of the masses. His hold on them is not of the nature of a vague influence. He has carved out a place for himself in the hearts of the people. He is their Supreme Leader. They are prepared to yield their body, their wealth, their soul, their everything to him. They are at his command. He is the Man of their Destiny.

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

Nehru in turn is fully conscious of the responsibility which his position carries. Recording his reaction to the warmest effection which people shower on him, he says in his autobiography :—

“Looking at them (the peasants) and their misery and overflowing gratitude, I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy going and comfortable life and our petty politics of the city which ignored the vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India, sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India.....A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with the responsibility that frightened me.”

Subsequent events have proved beyond doubt how magnificiently has Nehru fulfilled his responsibility towards the downtrodden.

Nehru fills a very important vacuum in the body politic of the Indian National movement. He has on his shoulders the tremendous task of maintaining the integration among the rank and file of the Indian National Cong.

## THE MAN OF DESTINY

ress. If he embodies in himself the revolutionary spirit of Subhash Chandra Bose, he has also the modesty of Mahatma Gandhi. If he owns the ideals of Jai Parkash Narain, he has also the adapting practicability of Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel. He is a valuable link between rival wings of *right* and *left*. He reconciles Gandhism and Leninism and provides the meeting ground between east and west. He has a huge mental reservoir of humanitarianism where different ideologies meet and find the best of them in it. He satisfies all points of view, all temperaments, except of course reactionary.

Nehru's personality is a factor which has much to account for his present magnificent position. Nothing which is his, can be detached from his personality, everything abides sure and certain in it as in a mighty cosmos. When he addresses gatherings and speaks out ideas sometimes repeated by himself or others, his enigmatic personality adds freshness to them, each of his simple words begins to carry an invisible power with it, each of his gesture makes an image on the hearer for ever. In his writings too, the image of the writer is felt behind the written words. The

figure of Nehru enthralled the reader, pierces deep into his sober thoughts and emancipates his convictions.

His simple dress—a shirt, a trouser and waist-coat, all made of homespun khaddar—is a clear manifestation of the democratic outlook of the person it embodies. It is a people's apparel and Nehru wears it because he never feels himself apart from the people.

Fifty seven years old Nehru has still the volcanic vitality of any young man. While the passing years have brought him more wisdom and knowledge, they have not snatched his charming smile or the pleasant smartness which colours his every movement and action. He is still a mighty reservoir of stupendous energy which has brought success to every battle he has fought, to every task he has undertaken.

Nehru is not merely an idealist equipped with excessive imagination. He is a practical statesman endowed with keen insight and redoubtable resolution. His words are not only a call to battle but also practical instructions for the

conduct of the fight. Mahatma Gandhi once said about him : "If he (Nehru) has the dash and the rashness of the warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has always shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point." He has the humility of a saint and the sincerity of a patriot.

Nehru, as befits a soldier, has the audacity of leading a very hard life. He believes in the motto: "Life is action and action is life." The vagaries of weather do not adversely affect his activities. His physical toughness coupled with strong will-power stands bold against sweltering heat or cold. During the days of the last elections the daily average number of places villages or towns which he visited was four, and the average number of meetings which he addressed was twelve. He marches on to the goal of freedom unhampered by physical disabilities. From the teeming tillers of the soil of his motherland, he has learnt to toil hard. He has taken

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the vow that he will not rest till the workers and the peasants can find rest. It is Nehru's responsibility towards them which has taken him to tread upon many hard paths. Lathi Charges, police assaults, hand-cuffs, long imprisonments, he has all endured with relentless courage.

Adventure is Nehru's beloved. Danger spots attract him most. He derives pleasure from facing the danger at its most catastrophic point. In his opinion "danger seems terrible from a distance, it is not so bad if you have a close look at it. And often it is a pleasant companion adding to the zest and delight of life." It may indeed be said of him that he feels elated and more charming when the struggle is of the hardest category. Writing from the prison he says:

"The call of action stirs strange depths within me and after a brief tussle with thought I want to experience again that 'lovely impulse of delight' which turns to risk and danger and faces and mocks at death."

Gandhi rightly expects of him that he would mount the gallows with a smile on his

## THE MAN OF DESTINY

lips, should the cause of the country demand it.

While Nehru is stout in body, he is kind at heart. When he was a young man, he once set out to the jungles of Kashmere for *shikar*. He succeeded in killing an antelope but when the little animal lay at his feet, fighting a losing struggle against death, its wild eyes, wet with tears, haunted Nehru and filled his heart with agony. And since then he has never thought of *shikar*.

Nehru's personality besides being gracious and charming has something romantic about it. While in public he leads millions, at home he plays with children. Even in the prison he makes friends with moon and for hours gazes on the stars which give him solace and "cheerful constancy and perseverance."

"Lord though I lived on earth, the child of earth,  
Yet was I fathered by the starry sky."

Like anybody who has a sensitive heart to feel, Nehru is a man of moods, sometimes autocratic and dictatorial in his ways. Once at a meeting, he lost his temper for the delay in printing the resolution to be put before the house. The secretary, Acharya Kripalani smiled at

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

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Nehru's reproach knowing how brief it was. Nehru recovering his temper said to the audience. "The press has not sent any of the printing slips, I have not even the resolution before me. So you can all amuse yourselves as you please—singing, dance, or recite."

Nehru is definitely one of the greatest revolutionaries, the twentieth century has given to the world so far. His hatred for all that is old in society, appreciation of the new social values, and love for action have all combined to create in him a zeal for an ideal world order. In him the hue and cry of the starving millions of India has assumed a concrete and personified power which confronts the existing order. Through him the hitherto dumb world of the disinherited wants to reign supreme. Revolution or the *Inqilab* of his dreams implies the establishment of the people's rule. He is credited with having once uttered in a poetic mood: "Whatever the future may bring, one thing is certain that the old order has gone and all the king's horses and all the king's men will not set it up again."

Nehru is entirely antagonistic to the existing

economic system of the world. It breeds war and conflict and crushes millions. It promotes the exploitation of man by man and nation by nation. Nehru's aim is to put an end to this mad world system. The revolution for which he fights will abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people for utilization in the progress and betterment of human society. He says:

"The good of a nation or mankind must not be held up because some people who profit by it object to the change. If political and social institutions stand in the way of such a change they have to be removed. To compromise with them at the cost of desirable and practical ideals would be a gross betrayal."

The biggest trait in Nehru's personality is his immense hold on the intelligentsia of his country. The intelligentsia in India which is almost exclusively recruited from the English-educated class of the larger cities is naturally more inclined towards the western ways of thought and Nehru's western background helps him in holding the educated classes, including

the student community in his political parlour. I may say it with conviction that an average moderately educated man or woman in India, is more drawn towards the scientific agnosticism and materialistic socialism of Nehru than the idealistic divinism or spiritualistic aestheticism of Mahatma Gandhi.

Nehru is an intellectual giant possessing an unparalleled clear imagination and a flawless pen. His style of expression, characterised by force and sweet reasonableness, wrath and irony, harshness and elegance, sometimes all at the sametime, is a skillful blend of reason and emotion. His heart is a huge reservoir of potential feelings which rush outside in quick succession, automatically rationalized, adapting themselves in the most appropriate words, couched in forceful poetic and literary language yet simple and easily understandable. His speeches and statements which penetrate deep into the hearts of the masses, also elicit the eulogies of the highly literate class.

In the writings of Nehru there is omnipresent a tinge of optimism indicating that the

writer never loses hope however dark the circumstances, but rather by upholding it, rouses the readers to action.

Nehru's writings provide very valuable gems in the historical and political literature of the world and depict the most real insight into her social and political institutions. "Glimpses of World History," "An Autobiography" and "Discovery of India" are among the finest specimens of human literary workmanship.

Though Nehru rejects everything however hallowed it may be by tradition, convention or religious sanction unless it has some scientific foundation to stand upon, he has the greatest respect for religious freedom. He of course, demand from the religions the shedding off of the rituals and superstitions which at the present accompany them.

A man of high and steadfast ideals, Nehru outshines any other Indian leader for his consistency in his behaviour as a statesman. Being always sincere in what he says, he has never had to face the awkward occasion of repenting for anything said or done in haste or in a mood



of sentiment. On account of his maturity in thought and experience, certain principles and ideals have come to stay on his mind, recognised by him as right once and for all. And as an internationalist he believes that if they are adopted by all nations, the world would live in peace and progress. All his actions and utterances have been directed to their achievement.

Nehru has a special distaste for power politics and always places his trump cards with face upwards. In politics he has all the frankness of a missionary. He cannot even for a minute put aside his principles. Once while he happened to be in Rome in 1936, he had the daring to refuse abruptly a very pressing invitation from Mussolini, the Dictator of Italy, because the latter had played the hero in the rape of Abyssinia. Such is Nehru's unbending attitude towards his ideals. The fighter in him is always alive for their cause.

Nehru along with Gandhi is conducting one of the greatest liberation movements in the history of the world. British imperialism is fast crumbling under the terror of their perso-

## THE MAN OF DESTINY

nalities. And time is not far when India will breathe the air of complete independence.

Nehru is now at the helm in the Indian Government. Even in that capacity he fights for the full-fledged freedom, the Goal of India. The nationalist struggle goes on. No rest for Nehru until and unless he sees in operation a socialistic system in a free India. In the meanwhile let us agree with Gandhi :

“ He ( Nehru ) is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a Knight *sans peur, sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands.”

## TWO

### Harbinger of Indian Revolution.

*Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam.—John Milton.*

A kiss that embarrassed Jawahar Lal Nehru in 1915 switched him on to the hotbed of political career. Before that, at Harrow and Cambridge, he had developed definite interest in the politics of the day and many a news from his slave India indicating her reluctance to take lying down the humiliation at the hands of her white masters had thrilled him and nationalistic ideas, though still vague, had started making home in his young heart.

Fresh from England he attended the Bankipore session of the Indian National Congress. Congress was in those days an

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

upper class affair and the few well-to-do lawyers, judges and businessmen, gracefully dressed in European garments, dominated its annual sessions in which feeble resolutions, recording their protest against some Government policies, were passed after cautious debates. One copy of each of the resolutions was sent to the press and the Government, which hardly ever cared to acknowledge their receipt. Lokmaniya Tilak, the fiery extremist leader, being in Jail, the Bankipur session was dominated by moderates. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the only outstanding personality. There was no clear cut programme before the house. There seemed to be no scope for any aggressive nationalist action. Bengal was peaceful after the successful revolutionary activity connected with the agitation against partition. The Revolutionary Nehru, always out for action, could be but dissatisfied with the calm political atmosphere, as it then prevailed.

The slumbrous India of 1915, not conversant with the nature of the British promises, threw her lot with Britian in the World War 1, inspite of the fact that the same hand which

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

was promising implementation of the right of self-determination after the war, was at the same time promulgating Defence of India Act to strangle the civil liberties of the people.

When Tilak was released two Home Rule Leagues came into vogue, one initiated by Tilak, and the other by Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish Theosophist advocating India's freedom. Nehru joined both. With the idea of nipping the two Leagues in the bud, the Government launched an orgy of repression. The arrest of Mrs. Besant aroused the wrath of every patriotic Indian. Nehru who had sent in his application to join the Indian Defence Force which had been organised by the Government to enlist India's support in the war, not only withdrew his name but also organised a successful agitation to cancel the forthcoming meeting of the Indian committee which was to support the plan for an Indian Defence force. This was the first great achievement for Nehru.

In the year 1916 on the auspicious day of Basant Panchami, Nehru was paired off with Kamala who later on grew up to be a befitting

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

partner in his political life. For a few weeks after his marriage he wandered with his bride in the beautiful valley of Kashmere. But for how long could he stay in such a luxurious phase of life in that heavenly abode? The call of the hectic political and public life of his country brought him back to the earth.

When the war came to an end, the promise of self-determination, made in return for India's support in the war, was strangely fulfilled by the British, who, in the teeth of unanimous opposition of the Indian Legislators, issued new suppressive ordinances to cow down the expectant and rebellious spirit of post-war India.

Was it for these autocratic ordinances that poor India shed her blood and money like water for the sake of Britain? India was enraged beyond limits at this gross betrayal of promise. Direct action became the order of the day complete overthrow of the British the aim. Mahatma Gandhi, the man of guts who had fought so valiantly for India's rights in South Africa, was to be the leader and the fight, stran-

gely enough, to be non-violent.

“No bloodshed, please,” forewarned Gandhi to the people while inaugurating the disobedience of the pernicious, degrading, humiliating laws of the government. Gandhi’s voice was the voice of a commander. It re-echoed in the receptive ears of the people. Nehru too heard this voice. To him it sounded as somewhat different from others. “It was quiet and low and yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude, it was soft and gentle and yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it; it was courteous and full of appeal, and yet there was something grim and frightening in it.”

Nehru, always anxious for action, at once took the pledge to disobey the suppressive laws. For him “here at last was a way out of the tangle, a method of action which was straight and open and possibly effective” and so he decided to join the *Satyagraha Sabha*. But there was an obstacle in his way. He could not get for his decision to partake in *Satyagraha*, the sanction of his father, Moti Lal Nehru,

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

who besides his general disapproval for reckless enthusiasm in political matters, did not entertain the idea of letting his only son, brought up in ease and luxury to sleep on the naked, stony floor of the dirty jail. While the son deeply depressed, night after night, wandered about alone, tortured in mind and tried to grope any way out, the father actually slept on the floor to find out what it was like, thinking that would be his only son's lot in prison. Ultimately Gandhi's advice was sought. He told Nehru not to do anything which might upset his father.

Nehru could not be happy at this advice but the might of events drew both of them, father and the son, into unexpected channels. Gandhi declared for one day an all India strike of every business, official and non-official. It was a challenge to the British Government who gave a demonstration of their superior might by bringing into full play all their machine guns, martial laws, and lathi charges. The notorious Jalianwala Bagh episode took place then. It was like this;

On April 10, 1919 an unarmed mob, furious



at the arrest of two beloved leaders, marched to plead their release before a British Magistrate of Amritsar. On the way it was met by the police who opened fire and killed many on the spot. The mob retaliated by attacking some English men. This brought forth British vengeance in full blast, resulting in a wholesale massacre of the people in Jalianwala Bagh. The hero of the show was General Dyer who entrapped a mass meeting going on in the Bagh and opened the fire on the people without any warning, directing it towards the crowd where it was the thickest. People could not disperse because the only exit had been blocked by the soldiers.

General Dyer enjoyed the blood-bath to his heart's content. But he could hardly imagine at that time that from the very blood would sprout forces which would ultimately ring the deathknell of the British Empire from India.

The non-violent non-co-operation movement of 1920 which was launched by Gandhi on Viceroy's refusal to rectify the grave wrong done to the people by the Amritsar massacre, brought Nehru to the forefront. Under the inspiring leadership of Gandhi, extremely

excited Nehru threw his body and soul completely in the movement. The plan was to elicit resignation of every Indian who was in the service of a foreign Government. Nehru's zeal and vigour embarrassed the Government and in him the latter found an archrebel—a menace to the smooth and peaceful British domination in India.

In December 1921, it dawned upon the British wisdom to send to India the then Prince of Wales. Hostile India could be nothing but unhospitable to an uninvited guest. The Congress declared boycott of all functions connected with the visit of the Prince. The Government counteracted by declaring the Congress an illegal body. The leaders in their turn took up the challenge by organising strikes throughout the country. This time the Government replied by arresting the leaders including both Nehrus, the father and the son. This was their first visit to the jail.

After three months Nehru was released. It was Gandhi's turn now. He was the most dangerous man in India in the eyes of the Govern-

ment and so he received six years imprisonment. Gandhi's arrest shook every Indian. His absence from the political scene resulted in some isolated and sporadic acts of violence in Chauri Chaura. The great leader, learning that his people had not been successful in living up to the doctrine of non-violence, suddenly called off the Civil Disobedience Movement much to the embarrassment of Nehru.

Nehru writes his reaction: "We were angry when we learned of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts . . . but what troubled us even more were the reasons given for this suspension and the consequences that seemed to flow from them. Chauri Chaura may have been and was a deplorable occurrence and wholly opposed to the spirit of the non-violent movement; but were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out-of-the-way place going to put an end, for sometime at least, to our national struggle for freedom? If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the

philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle. For it seemed to us to be impossible to guarantee against the occurrence of some untoward incidents. Must we train the three hundred and odd millions of India in the theory and practice of non-violent action before we could go forward? And even so, how many of us could say that under extreme provocations from the police we would be able to remain perfectly peaceful? But even if we succeeded, what of the numerous *agents provocateurs*, stool pigeons and the like who crept in our movement, indulged in violence themselves or induced others to do so. If this was the sole condition of its function then the non-violent methods of resistance would always fail."

Many doubts crept in Nehru's mind regarding the efficacy of the non-violent struggle and his belief in the Gandhian philosophy was shaken. Gandhi was in jail and Nehru had long interviews with him but they gave him little satisfaction. "Individuals might make of non-violence a religion or inconvertible creed" thought Nehru "but no political organisation so long as it remained political could do so."

The suspension of the civil disobedience movement automatically closed to Nehru the field of action. The news of a local disobedience campaign in Nabha, an Indian State in the north, conducted by the Sikhs on the model of non-violent *Satyagraha* under the auspices of a Gurudwara Committee, attracted Nehru's attention because in those days in his own mind there was going on a tug of war regarding the limitations to the working of a non-violent non-co-operation struggle. An invitation from the Sikhs immediately took Nehru and his two comrades as spectators to Nabha, where new Jathas were pouring in inspite of the hard beatings by the police. Nehru could not see the demonstration with his own eyes because as soon as his party reached Nabha, they were promptly arrested and taken to the jail in handcuffs. They were sentenced to a period of two years on a charge of conspiracy. Since, according to law, at least four persons should be involved in a conspiracy, the State prosecution arranged for a fourth, a total stranger to Nehru and his colleagues. The sentence was however given up and Nehru returned rich with

experience and knowledge about the autocratic and tyrannical behavior of the state authorities towards their citizens. The ultimate success of the non-violent *Satyagraha* of the Sikhs, of course, unfolded to Nehru the unquestionable efficacy of Gandhi's weapon.

Those were the days of Montague—Chelmsford constitutional scheme. Arm-chair politicians were in the lookout for anything worthwhile in them. The whole political atmosphere was charged with disruption. Nehru, a bit aloof from the all India politics, joined the Municipal Committee of Allahabad and introduced many innovations to discourage official red-tapism and general inefficiency. The interests of the poorer localities, which had been ignored so far, were brought by him to the forefront. But the official world refused to co-operate with him and he had to resign.

In 1926 the illness of his wife, Kamala, took the whole Nehru family to a health resort in Switzerland, changing Nehru's field of activity from India to Europe. The next year a Congress of the oppressed nationalities of the World

was held at Brussels under the auspices of the League against Imperialism. The more important of the oppressed countries represented in the Congress were, Germany, China, India, Java, Sumatra and Korea. Many personages of eminence including Madam Sun Yat Sen, George Lansbury ( chairman ), Romain Rolland and Einstein, participated in the deliberations of the Congress. Jawahar Lal Nehru was appointed by the Indian National Congress as the representative of India. In 1931 the League against Imperialism expelled Nehru from the League with " bell, book and candle " for what they considered the compromising attitude towards the Imperialistic Britain as manifested during the negotiations between the Indian National Congress and the British Government. League's stand in this connection could have been justified if it had given him some opportunity to explain his position.

Nehru had read of the Russian revolution of 1917 with great admiration and sympathy. The tenth anniversary of the Soviet Union attracted the Nehru family to Moscow where they spent a few days. Russia unfolded herself

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

to Nehru as a book to a scholar. He was greatly amazed at the rapid economic progress the Soviet had made by the adoption of collectivist methods.

Nehru's European tour, which also included visits to London, Czechoslovakia, Geneva and Paris, besides Brussels and Moscow imparted to him an international outlook. He returned to India with the realization that India's struggle against British imperialism was an integral part of the world-wide struggle, being carried on incessantly by all the oppressed nations against the aggressive powers in their respective spheres. To Nehru fresh from Europe, rich with new ideas, the fossilized and outmoded politics of India appeared in strange contrast with the European politics which had imbibed in a large degree the imprint of modern ideologies and so he hit upon a plan to rehabilitate the Indian independence movement.

The Madras session of the Indian National Congress held in 1927, gave him the opportunity to introduce the resolutions for complete independence and for India's more effective



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

association with the League against Imperialism. He also suggested the Indian National Congress to become more socialistic and rally round it the support of all trade unions, *kisan sabhas*, and youth organizations.

In 1928 India was in high passion, anxiously waiting for the clarion call from the leaders. The British Government took the initiative and gave the people an outlet for action. "Seven uninvited gentlemen from England" under the leadership of Sir John Simon reached the shores of India, with the avowed purpose of investigating into India's fitness for a further instalment of the long-promised self-government. The Congress, having recently passed a resolution demanding complete independence could hardly tolerate the British game of cajolery. The 400 million hostile voices of India greeted the Simon Commission with sky-renting shouts of "Simon-go-back." The wrath of the Government found vent in wholesale police assaults on the people. Sher-i Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai, lost his life as a result of the high handedness of the Police. Nehru was also the victim of *lathis* while leading one of the processions against the

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

Simon commission. His group of sixteen volunteers was so brutally belaboured with batons and truncheons, by the mounted police that even Nehru, famous for his spirits, thought of seeking safety, though he managed to hold up in his place on account of the brave within him. He received two resounding blows on the back and fell stunned with his body quivering all over.

A stiffer trial was in store for Nehru the next morning when the Simon Commission arrived at Lucknow. Huge crowds had gathered on the railway station to display black flags. Suddenly a moving mass, consisting of two or three long lines of cavalry or mounted police covered the entire area and galloped down towards the unarmed people "striking and riding down the numerous stragglers that dotted the *maidan*." "And then began a beating of us" writes Nehru "and battering with *lathies*, long batons and both by the mounted and foot police. It was a tremendous hammering.... All I knew was that I had to stay where I was and must not yield or go back. I felt half blinded with the blows and sometimes a dull anger

siezed me and a desire to hit out." But long training and discipline held Nehru from raising the hand.

Ultimately the Simon Commission, the cause of all this trouble, "secretly crept away from the station in the far distance, more than half a mile away. But even so, they did not escape the black flags or the (hostile) demonstration."

The memory of this incident that had endured with Nehru far more than the beating itself, is that of the faces of the officers and the policemen "full of hate and blood-lust, almost mad, with no trace of sympathy or touch of humanity". And when in a mood of introspection Nehru searched for the more deep causes of the rivalry between the people and their opponents, he said that they had no grievance against each other, no quarrel that was personal, no ill-will. "We happened to represent, for the time being, strange and powerful forces which held us in thrall and cast us hither and thither, and subtly gripping our minds and

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

hearts, roused our desires and passions and made us their blind tools. Blindly we struggled, not knowing what we struggled for and wither we went. The excitement of action held us; but as it passed, immediately the question arose; to what end was all this? To what end?"

The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress held in December 1928, was presided over by Motilal Nehru, who along with Gandhi toned down the country's demand of complete independence to dominion status, on the condition that if within a year this demand was not met, the demand for complete independence would be revived.

The year passed away without any satisfactory response from the Government. The time was ripe for inaugurating an open conspiracy against the British rule. A moderate like Motilal could not conduct the revolutionary activity which seemed assential for wresting the power from unwilling hands. Nation's choice fell on the son, the Jawahar, inspite of his tender

age. Jawahar Lal Nehru was elected President of the Indian National Congress which was scheduled to meet at Lahore in 1929.

Nehru again made complete independence the battle cry. January 26 was fixed as the day of independence. On that day a pledge of independence was taken all over India. The pledge was soon followed by Civil Disobedience movement launched on an all India scale under the dictatorship of Mahatma Gandhi. People irrespective of caste, creed, religion, occupation or sex fought the non-violent struggle with dynamic vigour. The economic depression precipitated the movement by dragging the whole peasantry into it. The political earthquake shook the Government from the bottom. The Government lost some ground and held out some ambiguous promises, but Gandhi, already conversant with the unreliability of British promises, stuck to the unconditional acceptance of his demand.

Open defiance of the British laws continued. No-tax campaign was started. Salt being the most common commodity, used alike by poor and the rich, Hindu and the Muslim, became a

symbol of the mighty challenge to the British authority. People made pilgrims to the sea and prepared indigenous salt. Gandhi himself gave the lead to the Dandy March and dipped with his own hands a bucket of water from the sea and let it evaporate. Nehru family displayed amazing capacity in this struggle. Jawahar Lal's father, mother, wife and sisters all came to the forefront and bravely put up with imprisonments, lathi charges and property confiscations.

The Congress was declared an illegal body and its funds were confiscated. Ordinance laws were passed to muzzle the civil liberties of the people. The inside of jails witnessed unprecedented crowds of political prisoners. Nehru, too, was closed in an ugly asylum in the Naini prison, where unfriendly walls depressed him until he became habituated to them. The news from the outside world enthralled him and distressed him for his inability to partake in the movement any more—at least for the time being. He heard of the most striking part being played by the women, including his mother, wife and sisters, in the national struggle. "They came out in large numbers from the seclusion of their

homes and though unused to public activity, threw themselves into the heart of the struggle. The picketing of foreign cloth shops they made their preserve. Enormous processions consisting of women alone were taken out in the cities, and generally, the attitude of the women was more unyielding than that of the men. Often they became Congress dictators in provinces and in local areas.'

The news of Gandhi's arrest came like a bombshell on the already hot waters of Indian National struggle. It gave impetus to the people's determination to resist the might of British bureaucracy. The Bombay beatings of the people by police only accelerated the wheels of the movement. Motilal Nehru, sick and lean, joined his son in the Naini prison but was later discharged on account of his deteriorating physical condition.

After a month Jawahar Lal was also released. He at once rushed to the fields to join the peasants in a Peasant Conference. But exactly on the eighth day after his release he was taken back to his old cell. 'Jail alone is the

safest place for this dangerous man' the Government thought.

The nation celebrated in a befitting manner Nehru's birthday in his absence. The offending portions from his speech for which he had been jailed, were read out in public meetings held for the purpose throughout the country. The Government retaliated by breaking the meetings with lathi charges and arresting 5000 soldiers of India's freedom. One of them, of course, was Kamla, Nehru's wife who along with other women, joyously entered the jail gates singing patriotic songs.

Meanwhile the British diplomats, unwilling to yield their Indian Empire were devising ways and means to counter-act the Indian revolution. In those days the boggy of communalism was not so successful a tool in the hands of the British as it is now. Then their hypocritical statesmen used to coin constitutional toys to humbug some of the easy going, cautious conservatives. Round Table Conference 1 was convened at London, where besides some Englishmen, a few reactionaries from India were also present.



With all her leaders inside the jails, how could India be represented? So the farcical Conference ended in fiasco.

Nehru was released from jail on January 26, 1931, to be with his ailing father. He went home and found that Gandhi too had come there. He saw his father who "sat like an old lion mortally wounded and with his physical strength almost gone, but still very leonine and kingly." As Nehru watched him he wondered what thoughts passed through his mind.

The next day was a day of calamity for Jawahar Lal and India. Motilal Nehru, the outstanding lawyer of his day, the man who renounced the riches of his life-time for the cause of his country, was no more. The whole country was filled with sorrow. Huge crowds, with tears in eyes and agony in heart, gathered to pay homage to his memory.

But the Indian struggle went on. Personalities, however great, come and go leaving, of course, their imprint on the movements in which they partake.

Lord Irwin became the Viceroy. He had long interviews with Gandhi and induced him to call off the Civil Disobedience movement on the condition that England would meet India's real demands. Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed at Delhi. Nehru also accepted the pact, though he was very sceptical about the apparent sincerity of the Viceroy. Gandhi attended the second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. While Gandhi was still in London, the Government began to harass the Indian peasants through tax collectors. Bengal and Frontier caught the trouble, to quell which the Government let loose their physical might on the poor peasants. Nehru termed the Government action as a breach of promise but the Government termed the trouble as a consequence of Nehru's underground activity.

The Round Table Conference met its expected fate. Fresh crisis seemed imminent. The Government was entirely displeased with Nehru's open sermons to the people exhorting them to defy the new ordinances. He was therefore, banned from moving outside the

municipal limits of Allahabad, attending or addressing any public meeting or group or writing in any newspaper. How could Nehru himself abide by this order when he was telling others to disobey? The same day he took the train for Bombay where he had a plan to meet Gandhi on the latter's return from England. On the way the police stepped in his compartment and arrested him.

Two days after, Gandhi arrived at Bombay. His colleagues were all behind the bars. He tried to meet the Viceroy but the police showed him the gates of the jail instead of those of the Viceregal lodge.

Civil Disobedience was relaunched. The Government also got ready for their perpetual crusade of suppression and repression. "What if their number is great. We have *lathis*, batons, and above all machine guns" was the battle cry of the Government.

Once again the country was in turmoil. People rose against the Government and with pride met the *lathis* and the fires. Nehru's

mother and sisters also played their part heroically, unmindful of the beatings which they received from the police.

For the next four years Nehru amused himself in the jail by letting his mind wander in the panorama of the past. The solitude, offered in abundance by the jail life, took Nehru to the world of centuries and centuries back. He wrote thousands of letters to his daughter, Indra, portraying the panorama of the world history. These letters were later on published in two volumes under the title "Glimpses of World History". The same solitude offered Nehru an opportunity for self-introspection and analysis of the different forces that had shaped events since he entered the politics of his country. And hence his world-famous Autobiography.

The serious illness of his wife forced the Government to release him temporarily for eleven days, after which period police again drove him back to his usual abode. The separation had a discouraging effect on Kamala's health. Ultimately as she lay in a critical condition at Bandenweiler in Germany, Government

released him on September 4, 1935, five and a half months before the due time. He at once flew to Europe and his presence soothed Kamala very much. A little improvement in her condition offered Nehru the chance to visit different European countries where he conducted a hammering propaganda favourable to India's freedom. In February 1936, Kamala, his partner in all what he stood for, left him for ever.

Plunged in grief, he heard the news of his election as the President of the Indian National Congress for the forthcoming session to be held at Lucknow. Of course personal tragedies could not hold him from public service, and he opened his presidential address with the following touching words:—

"I am heartened and strengthened by you, though even in this great gathering I feel a little lonely. We cannot rest for rest is the betrayal of those who have gone, and in going, handed on the torch of freedom to keep alight; it is betrayal of the cause we have espoused and the pledge we have taken; it is betrayal of the millions who never rest... ..I am weary and I have come

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

back like a tired child yearning for solace in the bosom of our common mother India. That solace has come to me in over-flowing measure; thousands of hands have been stretched out to me in love and sympathy; millions of silent voices have carried their message of affection to my heart. How can I thank you, men and women of India? How can I express in words feelings that are too deep for utterance?"

In 1936, the federal scheme was in the air. There was no opposition to the creation of a federation in India, but the constitutional framework suggested by the British Government in the Government of India Act, 1935, satisfied no body—much less the Congress. In those days, however, the growing consciousness of respective economic interests was disintegrating the ranks of the nation and different classes were beginning to pull in different directions. The Congress itself was only a loose national body threatened by an entire breakup. Radicals and moderates, nationalists and communalists were all drifting away from each other. Socialists were becoming more outspoken in their criticism of Gandhi's leadership. Gandhi

withdrew from active politics and occupied himself with the task of social emancipation, the uplift of untouchables, the advancement of people's morale, etc. etc.

Nehru was the best choice for the Presidency of the Congress. The socialists, the Gandhites, and the liberals all welcomed him as the new President and he in turn did not betray the confidence of any group. By sweet reason he won over the socialists into an agreement by which they postponed their programme of total social revolution till after the achievement of independence.

The Government of India Act of 1935 awaited the country's declaration regarding its fate. The Congress was definitely against it, except that it did not entirely dislike the idea of the elections accompanying it. The leaders thought that the elections would offer the Congress an opportunity to come into fresh contact with the people at large on an all India scale and make it an organisation not only for the masses but also of the masses.

And hence the election campaign started

with great zeal, without any serious consideration of the question of subsequent acceptance of office. For Nehru these elections were of particular significance. He established some sort of a record in the history of election campaigns. Mentioning the part which he played in these elections he says : "In the course of about four months I travelled about fifty thousand miles, using every kind of conveyance for this purpose, and often going into remote rural areas where there were no proper means of transport. I travelled by aeroplane, railway, automobile, motor lorry, horse carriages of various kinds, bullock cart, bicycle, elephant, camel, horse, steamer, paddle-boat, canoe, and on foot.

"I carried about me microphones and loud speakers and addressed a dozen meetings a day, apart from impromptu gatherings by the roadside. Some mammoth gatherings approached a hundred thousand; the average audience was usually twenty thousand. The daily total of persons attending was frequently a hundred thousand, and sometimes it was much greater. On a rough estimate it can be said that ten



million persons actually attended the meetings I addressed, and probably several million more were brought into some kind of touch with me during my journeying by road.

"I rushed about from place to place from the northern frontiers of India to the southern seas, taking little rest, kept up by the excitement of the moment and the enormous enthusiasm that met me. It was an extraordinary feat of physical endurance which surprised me. This election campaign, in which large numbers of people took part on our behalf, stirred up the whole countryside and a new life was visible everywhere. For us it was something much more than an election campaign. We were interested not only in the thirty million voters but also in the hundreds of millions of others who had no votes.

"There was another aspect of this extensive touring which gripped me. For me it was voyage of discovery of India and her people. I saw a thousand facets of this country of mine in all their rich diversity, and yet always with the unifying impress of India upon them. I

gazed at the millions of friendly eyes that looked up at me and tried to understand what lay behind them. The more I saw of India, the more I felt how little I knew of her infinite charm and variety, how much more there was for me to find out. She seemed to smile at me often, and sometimes to mock at me and elude me."

Nehru's efforts as also those of his colleagues brought a thumping victory to the Congress.

Time came for decision regarding the formation of popular ministries. Nehru was opposed to the constitutional scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act because he thought that it would not provide enough scope for introducing any radical economic and social reform. But the All India Congress Convention of the newly elected M. L. A's held at Delhi vetoed Nehru's judgement and in 1937 Congress ministries began to function in the majority of provinces.

As Nehru had anticipated, the conflicts between the Governors and their ministers

began to occur very soon. When these conflicts became oftener the All India Congress Committee was called in October 1937 to consider the question whether under the circumstances it was worthwhile for the ministries to continue in office. The opinion of the members was sharply divided. This distressed Gandhi who wrote an article in which he disapproved of some action taken by Nehru as the Congress President.

Nehru was on the verge of resignation from the Congress but the welfare of the organisation which he had built and the country which he so much loved, withheld him from taking such a course of action. Moreover the next session of the Congress for which Subhash Chandra Bose had been elected President, was drawing nearer and hence Nehru decided to carry on with his responsibility, though with a growing inner conflict.

After Subhash had taken the charge as the new President, Nehru flew to Europe to find solace for his puzzled mind. At Barcelona in Spain he landed and found the Spanish

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

Republic resisting with great determination the dark forces of reaction represented by General Franco. He also visited England where Mr. Neville Chamberlain was, with his perverted sanctimonious magnanimity, directing the appeasement policy and preparing the ground for Munich. Next he went to Paris and Geneva, the city of hundred and one international organisations all lying in ashes, tight and indifferent to their once cherished ideals.

Nehru returned from Europe with a heart heavy with distress and sorrow. On his way to India he was stopped at Egypt and given a hearty welcome by the Wafd party, which later on sent their deputation to India for attending the annual session of the Congress.

Reaching India, Nehru deliberately kept himself out of the Congress executive. Subhash Chandra Bose had also resigned from the Presidentship of the Congress and founded a rival organisation called the Forward Bloc. Nehru entirely disapproved of the stand taken by Subhash because what he thought of paramount necessity at the moment was the

reform of the Congress policy from within and without any disintegration of the nationalist forces of the country.

In 1938 Nehru presided over the All India States' People's Conference held in Ludhiana. The States, the "relics of middle ages" and "Britain's fifth column in India" confront a great menace to all democratic forces of the world. Nehru declared that the states system will have to go along with British imperialism.

The same year a friction between Indian residents and the Ceylonese Government took Nehru to Ceylon. His visit not only settled the problem (a problem which is again raising its ugly head) but also laid the foundations for closer relations between India and Ceylon.

In August 1939, Nehru went to China, the victim of the Japanese lust for land. He expressed to the Chinese people his desire to see India and China come close together—a desire which was fully reciprocated by the Chinese leaders.

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

The news of the world War II did not startle Nehru. He was expecting it every moment and had already declared India's policy in connection with it. He hated fascism and Nazism as much as British imperialism. The Congress Working Committee met on September 15, 1939 and issued a statement in which British Government was asked to explain their war aims, more particularly in regard to British imperialism that dominated over India. The British Government replied in the same old autocratic tone by making half-hearted announcements. "India would be helped to achieve her self-Government after the war. The Congress High Command inspite of their enthusiastic support for the forces of democracy and contempt for all that Nazism stood for, had to order the resignation of Congress ministries. The constitution came to a stop and Governors took over the charge of provincial administration. Civil liberties of the people were crushed by the promulgation of the Defence of India Rules. The arrest of Congressmen in large numbers compelled the Congress to launch an individual *Satyagraha*, though on a deliberately restricted

slcae.

In February 1942 was staged on the Indian scene the notorious Cripps-proposal which had in it the germs of disintegration of the nationalist forces of India and was, otherwise too, far short of Congress demand. Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, representing the Indian National Congress in the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps rejected the half-hearted offer of the British Government and came to the conclusion that British wanted no settlement with India, however great the emergencies of war and the neccessity to resist the enemy, thundering dangers on the eastern borders of the country.

Thus the ground was already prepared when on August 8, 1942 the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed admist thunder the famous "Quit India" resolution. And the next morning the Congress was banned and Gandhi safely driven to Agha Khan Palace at Poona. Nehru along with other members of the Congress Working Committee, were also given cubicles in the Ahmadnagar Fort. A great upheaval

followed the arrest of the leaders. The political atmosphere was charged with so much anti-English feeling that people forgot for the time being all that was non-violence. They rose in mass and fell upon the mighty Government with all their force. They attacked police, burnt down railway stations and post offices, declared strikes everywhere and sabotaged Government undertakings.

But ultimately nothing could stand the all-thrashing machine guns of the Government which fired death and terror at every one indiscriminately and quelled the trouble though with great difficulty.

A sense of frustration enveloped the entire horizon of India when Mahatma Gandhi was released in 1944. He urged the Government to release other Congressmen but the Government replied that the denunciation of the August resolution by the Congress was a pre-requisite to such a measure. Gandhi remarked that the withdrawal of a resolution, arrived at jointly by hundreds of men and women after much debating and consideration, was impossible, except after



joint discussion and deliberation, which could be conducted only after the release of leaders. He also dissociated himself and the Congress of the responsibility for the disturbances that followed the Quit India resolution. He said : "The Congress and I are wholly innocent of the charges brought against us. Nothing but an impartial tribunal to investigate the Government case and the Congress case against the Government, will bring out the truth.....Quit India only gives vivid expression to India's demand and has not the sinister and poisonous meaning attributed to it without warrant by the Government of India. The expression is charged with the friendliest feeling for British in terms of the whole humanity.....The responsibility for what followed the hasty arrest of Congressmen must solely rest on the Government. For they invited the crisis, not the Congress."

But the Government stuck to their previous conclusions and refused to budge an inch.

In 1945, however, the prospects of election to the British Parliament compelled the Government of India to find out some pretext for the

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

release of political prisoners. Nehru's presence in the jail was agitating the progressive mind of the voters in Britain. It was a blot on the Conservative Party and a great menace to its election campaign. In June 1945, therefore, Churchill's Government offered to India what is termed as the "Wavel Plan". The ban on the Congress was lifted and many of their important members including Nehru and Azad were released,

Coming out of the jail Nehru found a new India where "under the seeming quiet of the surface there was doubt and questioning, frustration and anger and a suppressed passion." Every person whom he met bore on his face the mark of the heavy travail that had electrified the horizon of India during his three years detention.

The Viceroy invited the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League to Simla to negotiate with him for the formation of a new executive council more connected with the Indian public opinion as represented by the main political parties. The Wavel plan suggested

Hindu-Muslim parity at the center. While the Congress was not against this parity it was definitely opposed to yielding the entire Muslim quota to the Muslim League, when a very considerable number of Muslims were at its back. Mr. Jinnah's intransigence, fanned by the British patronage, blockaded the entire progress of India, much to the satisfaction of the British Tories who had the opportunity to broadcast to the world that while the British were ready to grant to India self-Government, disagreements among Indians themselves were a perpetual hinderance to its implementation. They did not bother to understand that it was humanly impossible for the four hundred and odd millions of India, as of any other country, to cease to differ before they could be allowed to rule themselves.

The Victory of the Allies, first on the European front and then on the Eastern, brought new hopes to India. The failure of the Simla conference had raised India's temper and if left to have its own course, it might have landed India in a fresh turmoil. But the British diplomats, peeping beyond the peaceful present

into the turbulent future, proposed fresh elections for the central and provincial legislatures.

In August 1945, Nehru took the cudgels for the Indian National Army. He, of course, admitted that the I.N.A. had been misguided and had functioned under the Japanese auspices, but "there is no doubt" he said "that Subhash and his Indian colleagues and followers were motivated by the desire to free India." Nehru's lead in this matter stirred up the whole country. Whatever their relations with the Japs, members of the I.N.A. became national heroes for India. India demanded unconditional release of the I.N.A. personnel and demonstrated their strong opposition to the trial of their officers.

But the trial was held. The Red Fort of Delhi became the pivot of public anger. People owned the slogans of the I.N.A. and the cries of "Jai Hind" and "*Lal Kila Tor Do*" (obviously meaning "stop the I.N.A. trials") cleft the sky. Many songs were woven round the I.N.A. heroes.

The trials continued. The leading lawyers of the country including Late Bhulabhai Desai,

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Jawahar Lal Nehru (who wore his lawyer's gown after thirty years), Asaf Ali, Sir Daleep Singh, Dr. Katju and Rai Bahadur Badri Dass formed an Indian National Army Defence Council and subsequently succeeded in securing the release of its three leading officers. Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. P. K. Sehgal, and Lt. Gurbux Singh.

The election campaign started in the beginning of 1946, with Nehru again taking a very conspicuous part. He toured from place to place, used all kinds of travelling conveyances, ranging from bullock-cart to aeroplane and delivered more than a dozen speeches per day.

The elections of 1946 brought greater success to the Congress than those of 1936. Congress consolidated all the nationalist forces of the country and captured overwhelming majorities in the centre and most of the provinces. Congress ministries began to function in nine out of eleven Indian provinces in April 1946. Though Muslim League captured more seats than in 1936 it could not form ministries anywhere except with the costly co-operation of the European groups in Bengal and Sind.

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

In January 1946, a British Parliamentary Delegation consisting of four labourites, three conservatives and two liberals visited India. During their visit the delegation met people of all opinions and shades and on return to England suggested to the parliament that only momentous constitutional changes in India could thwart the great upheaval, so much likely if old conditions were allowed to continue.

On March 15, 1946 Mr. Clement Attlee, the British Premier, made a historic speech about India in which he said that they would not allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority in India and that if India decided to break away from the British Commonwealth of Nations she could do so. The speech was followed by the despatch of a Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethic Lawrance, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty, who reached the shores of India on March 25, to hold discussions with elected representatives of India in order, firstly, to establish a popular Interim Government, secondly, to make

arrangements for the setting up of a constitution-making body.

The mission stayed in India for more than three months and contacted all points of view. Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Princes, Nationalist Muslims, Ambedkarites, Hindu Mahasabhaites, Sikhs, Unionists, Liberals, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, all met the Cabinet Mission and enlightened them of their respective demands. The whole position ultimately boiled down to the Congress—League conflict on the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. Tripartite meetings were arranged to enable the British, the Congress, and the Muslim League leaders to sit around one table and chalk out some agreement, but nothing ensued. Muslim League used these meetings for their sinister propaganda. Nehru-Jinnah meeting also did not bear any fruit.

Thus while Congress-League agreement seemed impossible, on May 16 the Cabinet Mission came out with their own proposals which while rejected the sovereign Pakistan as demanded by the League, also disagreed with the Congress demand of a unified single

constituent assembly for India. They suggested that:—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finance required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and the voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.



(5) Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitution of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 years intervals thereafter.

These proposals were considered at length by the Congress and the Muslim League and numerous interpretations were made. In the beginning the League was fascinated by the grouping system and on June 5 accepted with certain reservations the proposals taking them as laying "the foundation and the basis of Pakistan". The Congress, though not relishing the grouping of provinces, satisfied themselves by declaring that the proposals did not suggest compulsory grouping and Congress Provinces might opt out of the particular section initially or at any other stage if they so chose, and finally accepted the proposals.

Then started the negotiations for the formation of a coalition interim Government. The parity, either between the Congress and the League or between the Hindus and the Muslims being unacceptable to the Congress, the Viceroy issued on his own responsibility a proposal by which out of 14 seats six were to go to the Congress, five to the League and the rest four to the minority communities. As the list proposed by the Viceroy did not contain the name of any nationalist Muslim, the Congress rejected the proposals, agreeing, of course, to join the proposed constituent Assembly with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India. When the Congress refused to join the provisional Government, the Viceroy set up a temporary care-taker Government of officials.

On July 27 the Muslim League reversed their conclusion of June 5, and withdrew their acceptance of the Cabinet Mission proposals on account of what they called "the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other".

Sikhs who had previously decided to boycott the Constituent Assembly revised their decision on the assurance from Pandit Nehru, who had then become the President-elect of the Congress, and elected their four members for the Constituent Assembly.

On August 12, India was taken by a sudden surprise when Viceroy invited Nehru, as the Congress President to make proposals for the immediate formation of an interim Government. Nehru accepted the invitation and approached the President of the Muslim League for their co-operation. But Mr. Jinnah declined to respond. Instead he convened a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and fixed August 16 as the Direct Action Day. On that day a great killing, taking the toll of five thousand lives, occurred in Calcutta.

On September 2, the Indian Interim Government under the leadership of Nehru, took over from the Care-taker Government. On October 15, the Muslim League also decided to join the new Government, not by coming to any settlement with the Congress, but





through the backdoor by forging an alliance with the Viceroy, whose position had been made precarious by the collective responsibility of Nehru's Cabinet, and who therefore wanted to exploit the League for regaining his power.

The Muslim League entered the Interim Government as the "King's Party" and counterbalanced the team work of the previous Cabinet, and caused great dissatisfaction in the nationalist circles.

Though the Muslim League remained in office, communal riots did not come to an end. After Calcutta the scene of carnage, loot, arson, and proselytism shifted to Eastern Bengal where in Noakhali District thousands lost their lives. The exodus of Hindu population from Bengal to Bihar had very grave repercussions on the peace of Bihar and this province was also overtaken by serious riots.

The refusal of the Muslim League to participate in the Constituent Assembly, which has been meeting since December 9, constituted the

forfeiture of her claim to participate in the Interim Government and therefore to clear up the matter Pandit Nehru, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh, flew to London to attend a Round Table Conference, convened by the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee.

As was expected the Conference failed to achieve any Congress-League agreement. The talks broke down on the question of compulsory grouping of provinces. Provincial autonomy being the kernel principle of the Congress, it refused to commit itself to the grouping of provinces against their own will.

The failure of London Conference, however, did not adversely affect the meeting of the Constituent Assembly on December 9. The Constituent Assembly has been meeting since that date and carrying on its business with great success. Pandit Nehru has issued a directive to the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly reminding them of the lines on which the Congress will proceed to frame the constitution. The directive declares:—

## HARBINGER OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

“ The Congress stands for an independent sovereign republic of India wherein all powers and authority are derived from the people and for a constitution wherein social objectives are laid down to promote freedom, progress and equal opportunity for all the people of India, so that this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full contribution to the promotion of world peace and the progress and welfare of mankind, and hence all congressmen should work to this end.”



## THREE

### Writer Par Excellence.

Though primarily a first-rate politician, a high-ranking statesman and a courageous leader, Nehru is also a brilliant political and social thinker and a prolific writer. He is a great writer indeed, and certainly one of the greatest in the world today.

Whenever during his long turbulent political career, the British bureaucracy has found it expedient to snatch him away from the people and shut him inside the jail, instead of yielding himself to defeatism or despair, he plunges deep into infinite industry and makes the best use of the solitude and calmness offered by the jail life. Though perforce precluded from any physical movement outside, he lets his big mind wander into the boundless arena of all times, past, present and future preoccupying himself with literary proclivities and subjecting

## WRITER PAR EXCELLENCE

himself to a colossal self-interrogation by the fresh enquiring vigour of his brain. His imagination runs far and wide taking in its fold all the peoples' problems of every land of the world.

Breadth of his interests, unlimited range of his ideas, his marvellously true perspective, his logical coherence, have all contributed to make of him a very comprehensive writer.

Nehru knows very well the art of giving graceful expression to his infinite fund of human thought and his writings are marked for their fluency, exquisite sensitiveness, finish of style and soundness of knowledge. There is behind his writings a sentimental force which melts into impulses and reactions and gives a new and unexpected significance to even commonplace topics which he undertakes to discuss.

Nehru's writings are essentially concerned with matters which are this-worldly. As a leader of the revolutionary spirit of his age he derives much of his inspiration from the "common man." It is the common man's interests

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

which form the burden of his song, the central theme of his writings.

Nehru's first monumental work "Glimpses of World History" appeared in 1935. The 'Glimpses' were originally addressed by him in 1931-33 from behind the prison walls to his ten years old daughter, Indra Priyedarshani (now Mrs. Feroz Gandhi), whom he had left outside at home. These letters running in thousands furnished an interesting outline of the history of the world, its finger posts, and landmarks. As a product of historical research they represented a departure from the usual course adopted by historians of giving details of dry facts. In them the author provided an interpretation of the various movements that overwhelmed the different ages right from the beginning of old civilization of Egypt and Greece to the modern civilization of competitive movements of capitalism and socialism.

In his 'Glimpses' Nehru interprets the real spirit of all the epochs that have moulded the destiny of mankind in its various phases in the long past. The 'Glimpses' does not in fact form

a history in the strictest term of the word but it rather tells a fire-side story of the eras and civilizations and their contribution towards the making of the modern society. The rise or fall of nations and movements is probed into by the author with a deep and objective perspective. The competing growth of imperialisms and the competing claims of democratic principles, the revolt of Asia, the resurrection of slave nations, the colonization of Africa and Australia, the emergence of American and Soviet republics, are all revealed by him with the ease and trenchancy of a master craftsman. Nehru deals with the history of the world with keener eyes and pictures the psychological tendencies of various religious and political movements with a surer hand than has any other writer so far.

During the three years installment (1932-35) of his twenty years total imprisonment in the British jails, Nehru devoted himself to the preparation of a concrete autobiography. A one of the leading personalities of the Congress, his position in the nationalist movement of India

had already been established beyond doubt and his part in its activities, rivalled only by Mahatma Gandhi, gave him enough scope to unite personal revelation with the record of public events.

“An Autobiography——with musings on recent events in India” came as a thunderbolt on the hot-waters of British-Indian politics. It depicted in very convincing manner the Indian national movement, its nature, history and achievements and the outlook of various personalities who were its guiding factors. It brought into limelight the real working of the Indian National Congress, the conditions under which it had to struggle, the contradictions of the British rule in India, the fundamentals of Indian problem and the temporary nature of Hindu-Muslim differences. And all these matters the author dealt with an objective though authoritative attitude of mind.

In this very book Nehru revealed to the world the greatness of India and the prospect of her vital participation in the future make-up of the world order.

## WRITER PAR EXCELLENCE

He also gave a unique expression to the lofty ideals for which the Congress and India stood and struggled and sacrificed. Above everything else he presented in his autobiography a clear picture of his own character, his recurring mood of self-questioning, his objective idealism, and last of all but not the least, his own great contribution in India's fight for independence.

Nehru's latest literary creation "The Discovery of India" was written by him during his last imprisonment (1942-45) in the Ahmadnagar fort. It indicates the latest development in his ideology.

Though primarily dealing with the social and political history of India beginning with the pre-Aryan age, this book also brings up-to-date, the autobiographical story as told in his "An autobiography."

"The Discovery of India" as its name suggests is an attempt to discover truth about India, her glorious past with ancient writings and scriptures and mythologies, and the various civilizations and cultures as they came and

passed away from the Indian horizon. It gives an exhaustive account of many preachers, leaders and personages who at any time entered the Indian stage, led various movements and left their imprints to survive for ever. It makes special mention of Kabir, Guru Nanak, Amir Khusru, Babar and Akbar who all made notable contribution towards the development of a common Indian society based on a common Indian culture.

In this book Nehru also describes the how and the why of the establishment of British rule in India. Attributing the downfall of the Indian empire to the superiority of British organization and strategy, he states that, under the British, India became for the first time a political and economic appendage. Appraising the Great Mutiny of 1857 and despairing over its ultimate failure, Nehru goes on to narrate the Indian national movement as it developed under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lokmaniya Tilak, Krishana Gopal Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Moti Lal Nehru and others.

## WRITER PAR EXCELLENCE

Adding "India and the world" and "China Spain and the war" to the above mentioned three compact literary accomplishments, Nehru has also to his credit thousands of statements, manifestoes and resolutions which are of perennial interest and inspiration to the students of political and social movements of the world.

Nehru's works give clear evidence of his wonderful power of graphic narration and it is no wonder that the whole world acknowledges the excellence of his writings and is under their gripping influence.



## FOUR

### Leader of the World.

As a socialist, Nehru is essentially cosmopolitan. He is an internationalist who looks on the world as a whole and not as divided into watertight compartments by nationalistic boundaries. Nationalism to him is a narrow creed unworthy of the modern atomic civilization. Of India's fight for political freedom he thinks that it is an integral part of the worldwide struggle of slave nations against the aggressive imperialist powers who have by sheer superiority of weapons and utter disregard for justice and morality strangled the weaker nations into helpless subjugation. India's struggle is a contribution to the international forces of freedom and democracy.

Nehru's internationalism is based on his plea for the elimination of political and economic imperialism wherever it exists. Freedom like peace is indivisible and the world cannot continue for

long part free and part unfree.

Nehru's approach to the problems of mankind is economic. He holds that the real problem before the world is not one of internecine rivalry among nations but that of a conflict between the international forces of 'haves' and 'havnots'. It is a continuous struggle in which the peasants of the world are on one side and the capitalists and the landlords on the other. Socialism and democracy are the allies of the former and capitalism and imperialism the accomplices of the latter. The workers of the world belonging to any nation or inhabiting any part of the globe form one class and the capitalists and the landlords the other. One aims at revolutionizing the society so that real democracy may be established everywhere, the other at counteracting any such revolution which may imperil the existing order. One believes in change for the better, the other in stagnation which alone ensures the continuance of its privileged position. Being ideologically different the two are in perpetual conflict with each other. And there can be no

peace in the world till capitalism, imperialism and fascism—the three forms of exploitation—go lock, stock and barrel and are replaced by an international socialism.

International socialism—a panacea for all the evils of the world—will according to Nehru bring the dawn of a new civilization blooming with new ideals and new values and basing itself on the resurrection of the exploited and the downtrodden people.

Nehru's chief interest lies in the welfare of the poor masses, the workers and the peasants, and it is their freedom which he fights for. To him the workers are the most dynamic factor in a modern society. They form the nations, give them a collective strength and can help in the building up of an enlightened humanity.

The old civilization, as represented by England and other capitalist countries, is entirely unsuited to modern times when the workers are surging with new awakening and standing as one force against their exploiters. No more can the few privileged be allowed to live in comfort, luxury and leisure amidst millions toiling

## LEADER OF THE WORLD

hard only to be under-fed, under-clothed and under-housed. Nor can the few rich be allowed to reap the harvest while millions till the soil. A system which perpetuates exploitation of the poor by the rich can no longer continue. The national economies based on the principle of competition are outmoded in so far as they do not promote perfect utilization of the potential physical and mental resources of the nations. Nehru seems to think with Hewlett Johnson that "Slums and booms, unemployment and misemployment, the dole and the multi-millionaire, the scales weighted for financiers and against the workers, frustrate society and produce strains and stresses whose logical conclusion is war."

Capitalism is the negation of scientific progress. Under capitalism, mass production is not mated to mass consumption. Machines and scientific processes are deliberately run slowly to avoid over-production and check the declining prices. Capitalism aims at profit and when the producer finds it unprofitable to increase production, he shuns the application of the novel methods of mass production.

Thus capitalism means starvation amidst plenty. While the workers have to strive hard even for subsistence, the production of goods is deliberately cut short. It is the profit motive which measures scales for the producer and not the needs of the society. Thus for his socialism, Nehru derives much inspiration from Marxist philosophy. He accepts "its monism and non-duality of mind and matter, the dynamics of matter, and the dialectic of continuous change by evolution as well as leap, through action and interaction, cause and effect, thesis, antithesis and synthesis."

Elimination of the capitalist and the expropriation of the landlord are necessary to put an end to existing system of production and distribution which has no moral or scientific basis. For the achievement of this purpose Nehru does not approve of a violent revolution on the lines of the Soviet Revolution of October 1917. His suggestions envisage the emancipation of entire mankind through a peaceful transformation of society from the chaos of competition to a systematic organisation of national economies. That is his plan for

## LEADER OF THE WORLD

the economic uplift of the "little man" and the liberation of the proletariat from poverty, enslavement, exploitation and debasement.

Though a believer in personal freedom, Nehru does not abhor the limitations on individual freedom which may be deemed necessary for safeguarding the interests of the larger freedom of society. "I am too much of an individualist" he says "to like overmuch regimentation. Yet it is obvious that in a complex social structure individual freedom has to be limited and perhaps the only way to real personal freedom is through some such limitation in the social sphere."

As a socialist, Nehru believes in the ultimate emergence of a classless society when the Government shall pass completely into the hands of the workers themselves. Therefore, he says that in his scheme of things the question of multi-party Governments based on the old styled parliamentary democracy does not arise at all. The Government shall belong to only one party—the party of the workers and

the peasants. According to him real democracy means equality, not merely the equality of possessing a vote but also economic and social equality. The parliamentary system which involves parties-in-power and parties-in-opposition does not provide real democracy since it does not interfere with the growth of monopolies and power concentration. Capitalism and democracy are inherently inconsistent and though they grew up together in the nineteenth century, they were not mutually compatible. "There was a basic contradiction between them, for democracy laid stress on the power of the many, while capitalism gave real power to the few. The conflict between capitalism and democracy is often hidden by misleading propaganda and by the outward forms of democracy such as parliaments, and the sops that the owning classes throw to the other classes to keep them more or less contented. ...But a time comes when there are no more sops left to be thrown and then the conflict between the two groups comes to a head, for now the struggle is for the real thing, the economic power in the state".

Thus while there can be no democracy with capitalism there can also be no democracy without socialism. Nehru's democracy implies an economic and political system under which the state guarantees all equalities to all human beings irrespective of colour, race, creed, caste, religion or sex. And socialism alone can build up such a system.

As an archenemy of capitalism it is but natural for Nehru to look at fascism with extreme disdain. According to him fascism is the last refuge for capitalism when all its supporters band themselves together under the false banner of national-socialism to face the common danger to their vested interests. Fascism is the last effort of the capitalists to grab political power in the state in order to continue the exploitation of the working classes by diverting their minds to artificial theories of racial superiority or jingoistic nationalism and by ultimately indulging them in racial wars.

Nehru, as one who has shaped the policy of the Indian National Congress in regard to foreign affairs since India began her interest in



events occurring beyond her frontiers, has always adopted uncompromising attitude towards the fascist powers and supported the socialist movements throughout.

In 1927, when England was on friendly terms with fascist Italy and other dictatorships of Europe and was openly hostile to Russia, and Russia was developing friendly relations with eastern countries, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Mongolia, Nehru, even at that time, denounced the rise of fascist powers in Europe and expressed India's sympathy for Russia and other eastern countries. In the Chinese revolution he found the "portents of the approaching freedom of India and of the elimination of European aggression in Asia."

During the days of the Economic Depression which over-powered the economy of the world in 1931, he exposed the hollowness of the capitalist system and appreciated the economic progress which Russia was making when the rest of the world seemed to be engrossed in an unprecedented economic disequilibrium.

In the thirties the rise of Hitler and

Mussolini filled Nehru with grave apprehensions and he incited Britain to have a tougher policy towards the fascist powers. But Britain continued her pro-Nazi and pro-fascist attitude for the sake of isolating U. S. S. R. from international politics. In 1935 when the Duce of Italy let loose his nefarious designs on Abyssinia, Nehru moved a resolution at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1936, assailing in scathing terms the Italian aggression in Abyssinia and ventilated India's sympathy for the Ethiopian people:—  
“ The Congress expresses the sympathy of the Indian nation for the Ethiopian people who are so heroically defending their country against imperialist aggression and considers Abyssinia's fight as part of the fight of all exploited nations for freedom. ”

And what about Britain? Britain not only did not impose economic sanctions against Italy, but also supplied oil to Italy through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Nehru condemned the isolationist policy of the great powers and felt sorry for the lack of intervention by the League of Nations in the

rape of Abyssinia. India also observed May 9, 1936 as an Abyssinia Day.

In 1936, Republican Spain was attacked by General Franco with the aid of Germany and Italy. This was a great movement for the negation of democracy in the European continent but Britain and France displayed their farce of 'non-intervention', much to the grief of Nehru. Nehru visited the war-stricken Spain and on return sent some succour to her.

When Japan attacked Manchuria, Britain did not feel the pinch. She found in Japan a useful ally to be placed against Russia whenever opportunity arose. Japanese humiliating restrictions on the 5th British residents in Hong Kong and Shanghai also did not call forth her anger. She sat tight and unmoved while Japan was carrying on in China her diabolical mission of the forcible "unification of Asia." Nehru for his part not only went to China to arouse the Chinese forces against Japan, but also despatched from India a medical mission to China.

In Europe Britain urged the French Government to close the Pyranese frontiers of

Spain and thus precipitated the fall of the Republican forces. Mr. Neville Chamberlain became ridiculous to the point of defending Franco's action. He also manifested his profound unconcern about the German demand of Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia and let the Munich agreement come into existence.

But when the German, Italian and Japanese empires, nurtured by the British policy of appeasement, grew up, they became a great menace to the British economic and political imperialism. In spite of their common opposition to Russia, war between Germany and Britain seemed probable. With the dawn of this probability, Britain changed over-night and became the champion of freedom and democracy and critical of the German and Italian acts of aggression. Nehru could not believe that Britain who had led all the reactionary forces of the world so far had turned a friend of democracy as a matter of her principle. He termed the British stand against Germany as merely an act based on their national interests and originating from their desire to hold on to their Empire. That was

the conclusion which could be arrived at by any deep thinking man after making a study of the previous foreign policy of the British.

When the war broke out in September 1939, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution asking the British Government to explain their war aims so that if there were any prospects for India to get rid of British imperialism she might join the Allies to support the cause of democracy and freedom against that of Nazism and Fascism. For it was thought that only a free India could take any effective part in international conflicts. The thought and energy of a subject country could not be diverted from the struggle for the achievement of its own freedom. That struggle was inherent in it and led to the concentration of thought on it and prevented a consideration of wider issues.

The British Government, however, gave no satisfactory reply to the Congress demand of explanation regarding their war aims. And hence the Congress had to declare its policy of non-participation in the war. Nehru was convinced that of all the Allies at least Britain was not fighting the war for any set principles. She was

fighting merely for safeguarding her own declining Empire. And definitely India could not be a party to such a mission. Nehru tells the Congress policy in this connection:—"The Congress laid down and frequently repeated a dual policy in regard to war. There was on the one hand, opposition to Fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism both because of their internal politics and their aggression against other countries; there was intense sympathy with the victims of that aggression; and there was a willingness to join up in any war or other attempt to stop this aggression. On the other hand there was an emphasis on the freedom of India, not only because that was our fundamental objective for which we had continuously laboured, but also especially in relation to a possible war. For we reiterated that only a free India could take proper part in such a war; only through freedom could we overcome the bitter heritage of our past relations with Britain and arouse enthusiasm and mobilize our great resources. Without that freedom, the war would be like any old war, a contest between rival imperialisms, and an attempt

to defend and perpetuate the British Empire as such."

Nehru told the British Government that if Britain fought for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions. That was the only logical conclusion in terms of the principles of democracy. But British Government could not agree to that. They wanted to defend the *status quo* so far as India was concerned. Therefore it was in the interests of the international forces of freedom that India did not kill her principles for the sake of strengthening Britain who wanted the perpetuation of imperialism in India and elsewhere.

The world war II was hardly over when Britain returned to her old pre-war foreign policy. After the Japanese surrender, the Indonesian Republic declared the independence of Java. The pre-war Dutch rulers wanted to hold on to their colonies, and hence they sought British support in the task of reestablishing their Empire in Indonesia. Britain put off her war time professions of love for

democracy and joined the Dutch forces to safeguard colonialism in Asia. Similar support was also offered to the French forces in Indo-China.

Nehru, fully conversant with the nature of British "love" for democracy, was not surprised at these developments in the foreign policy of Britain. He, of course, exposed the British policy and condemned her new aggressive tendencies in Asia. He also expressed his sympathy for the cause which the Indonesian Republic was upholding under the able leadership of Doctor Soekarno and wished success to their struggle for maintaining their independence.

A few months ago, Doctor Soekarno, the President of the Indonesian Republican Government invited Nehru to Java, to inspect the conditions prevailing there. Replying to the invitation, Nehru said "If I can be of any service to the cause of Indonesian freedom, I shall gladly visit Java inspite of urgent and important work in India. I believe that our freedom in India or Java or elsewhere hangs together and if I can serve the cause of freedom in Java



I shall certainly go there." But legal restrictions, put by the British and Dutch authorities, did not allow Nehru to reach Batavia. -

Recent famine in India aroused the sympathy of Indonesia and Doctor Soekarno, inspite of the difficulties in his own country, arranged to send to India a good amount of rice.

On October 24, 1946, Nehru sent a letter to Dr. Soekarno telling him that since under the new Interim Government India had wider play and greater opportunity of co-operation with other nations, she would be glad to translate her goodwill for Indonesia into something more effective.

Nehru has always been deeply perturbed over the fact that Indian troops have been employed by the British Government in aggressive campaigns totally antagonistic to the ideals for which India stands. The use of Indian troops in Indonesia as also in Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, Syria, Tibet, Afghanistan, Burma, and China, has been directed primarily against the nationalist movements in these

## LEADER OF THE WORLD

countries or for other imperialistic purposes. Nehru thinks, therefore, that India's freedom is of world-wide importance. These very troops, which have been used in the past for suppressing freedom movements and delaying independence of many countries, will be placed at the service of entirely democratic ideals.

The Congress policy regarding foreign affairs vis-a-vis the recent events in international field makes clear beyond doubt the unparalleled consistency in Nehru's opinions on world affairs. He has always scrutinized the foreign policies of different countries by the measuring rod of his principles and declared them right when they satisfied his measuring rod and wrong when they did not.

Basing his ideals on international socialism Nehru also visualizes the establishment of a world federation. His pre-requisites to the success for any world co-operation are, the whole-hearted application of the principle of self-determination to all nations irrespective of the degree of previous political education which

they may have been able to accumulate ; substitution of power politics by moral politics ; abandonment by nations of the national sovereignty of the extreme type ; and preferably adherence to a socialist internal structure by the participating countries in order to bind them in a common approach to the particular problems which may arise from time to time. The World Union of Nehru's dreams must necessarily be on a basis of equality, and on a common declaration of the Rights of Man. Only such a Union can withhold the nations from breaking the peace of the world.

Nehru has recently taken upon himself the task of preparing Asia for full participation in such an eventual world state. He has chalked out a plan to hold at New Delhi an Inter-Asian Relations Conference under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs in the first quarter of 1947. This Conference will be non-official and be attended by the delegates of organizations similar to the Indian Council of World Affairs belonging to all countries of Asia.

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## LEADER OF THE WORLD

Invitations have already been issued to all countries of Asia including Central Asian Republic of Russia, Japan, China, Siam, Viet Nam, Indonesian Republic, Phillipines, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhotan, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Turkey and Syria. Egypt has also been invited on account of her intimate relations with the Asian countries of the Middle East. Each state will send sixteen delegates including woman delegates and four scholars and experts as observers to the proceedings of the Conference.

Observers have also been invited from the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House and the Institute of Political Science and Institute of International Affairs, Sydney.

The Conference will exchange ideas on the problems which are common to all Asian countries and study the ways and means of promoting closer contacts between these countries. The Conference will discuss cultu-

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

ral problems with special reference to education, art and architecture, scientific research and literature, problems of industrial labour and industrial development; welfare problems with special reference to public health and nutrition, inter-Asian migration and the status and treatment of immigrants; the status of women and women's movements in Asia and transition from a colonial to a national economy, dictated primarily by national interests but with due regard to the interests of international co-operation.

Nehru's ideals of socialism, internationalism and world federation, and his practical contribution towards their achievement, have made him a leader not of India alone but of the whole world.

Ever since the interim Government assumed office under his leadership, Nehru has been receiving messages of greetings from all over the world. Specially noteworthy are those from Egypt, China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon. There is a great fund of goodwill for India abroad because it is expected that, once fully independent, India, led by Nehru,

## LEADER OF THE WORLD

will render great service to mankind and to the cause of world peace and freedom.

From time to time innumerable tributes to his greatness have flown to Nehru from personalities of international fame. Recently Azzam Pasha, General Secretary of the Arab League, referring to his broadmindedness, universalism and tolerance, said: "There are few men I love and respect in this world. Nehru is one of them."

In 1943, Clare Booth Luce, a New York Congress woman, criticizing President Roosevelt for not championing the Indian cause said: 'Mr. Roosevelt must know that Pandit Nehru is a man so good and great and of such a lofty mind and character that he makes most of the leaders look almost shabby mentally, and certainly very shabby spiritually, in comparison.'

On the occasion of the commemoration of Nehru's 57th birthday, Prof. J. B. S. Halden, editor of the *Daily Worker*, said: "Pandit Nehru's work showed more independence and more originality of thought than those of the

British Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee or Mr. Winston Churchill."

At the same meeting Mr. Peter Abraham declared: "Mr. Churchill or General Smuts may be great men to white men of the British Empire but to the advanced people of the world they are mere mediocrities compared with Pandit Nehru."

Mr. Julius Siverman M. P. remarked: "Nehru is a man of great human sympathies and his vision today is one of the clearest in the world. He is the best man to lead India at this critical period of India's history, into the path of a new civilization."

Mr. Emanuel Celler said: "Nehru symbolizes India's emergence from British misrule and imperialism. The U. S. A. may be a country of today but India is a country of tomorrow."

Mr. Reginald Bridgeman said: "India is fortunate to have a leader like Pandit Nehru. He hates reaction. He is far superior than any of our so called democratic administrators."

Writing in the "Socialist leader", the official weekly of the Independent Labour Party,

## LEADER OF THE WORLD

Mr. Fenner Brockway, the well-known left-wing journalist, said: "Pandit Nehru will stand out in history not only as the builder of new India but also as the architect of a new world. We have not yet reached the end of Jawaharlal's greatness. He has a conception of internationalism which the world needs above everything else today. When his voice is heard in the United Nations, he will give the lead for which millions of people in India are waiting."

"I doubt whether there is any other leader in the world today who has the breadth and depth of knowledge which Jawaharlal possesses" added Mr. Brockway.



## FIVE

### Buck up China.

Though Jawahar Lal Nehru occupied the official chair of Minister for External Affairs only recently, on the establishment of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946, he has been guiding the nationalist India in respect of her relations with foreign countries since his advent into politics. Many a time he has toured abroad in foreign countries as an ambassador of the Indian people, though not of the Government. Under his lead and inspiration India has denounced where wanton aggression deserved denunciation and through his initiative has she sent her word of sympathy and encouragement to all those who suffered in a cause worthy of admiration. The worth of a cause Nehru always determines by canons of justice and morality and principles of freedom and self-determination.

Japan's attack on China in July 1937 was

aggression pure and simple. Nehru could not keep himself aloof from the Chinese struggle. He deprecated in unequivocal terms the Japanese ruthless intrusion in China. The nationalist India, inspired by him, strongly sympathised with the Chinese people who were targets of the Japanese "war for the unification of Asia". It was a strange method for achieving such a noble mission. Could the unity of Asia be fostered by bombs and machine guns? India failed to understand the righteousness of the Japanese action against China and frankly sided with the latter.

While other countries, including the western democracies, were reluctant to take definite position on this crucial issue, India not only declared her verbal condemnation of the Japanese aggression and sympathy for the suffering China but also offered her practical support to China according to her capacity under the circumstances.

In Bombay Nehru spoke his heart to a mammoth gathering of one lac and vigorously assailed the Japanese rain of death and terror on the Chinese people. This very meeting

decided to dispatch to China a medical mission to heal the wounds of the Chinese soldiers. China was also invited to send her delegate to the annual session of the Indian National Congress.

War between China and Japan was watched by the people of India, not merely with the sympathy of outsiders but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. India had made the cause of China her own and felt that her own battle was being fought in China. While the progress of Japan on the Chinese soil distressed the Indian people and filled their hearts with grief, the brave resistance put up by China provided them with great consolation and filled them with confidence that inspite of the temporary advance of the Japanese forces towards Chungking, enemy bombs could not kill the indomitable will of the Chinese people. To them the righteousness of the Chinese cause was a sufficient guarantee for the ultimate victory of China. India would also have been very glad to afford her effective support to China in the

## BUCK UP CHINA

shape of men and material but British imperialism did not let her do so.

In August 1939 Nehru flew to China to see for himself the grim battles of India's freedom being fought in China. On reaching there he found much to his surprise that on the edifice of old China had grown up a new China surging with young blood. The old incompetent feudal lords had given place to new young generals who were prepared to yield their all but freedom. The emergency of war had helped the Chinese in shedding their lethargy and weakness of ages and building up a strong, united and modern nation fighting a common enemy.

Of the thirteen busy days which he spent in China, Nehru gives a significant description: "Those thirteen days were full and I could easily write a book about the sights I saw, the people I met, and the impressions I gathered. I witnessed five air raids, sitting mostly in a darkened dugout but peeping out sometimes to see the battle in the skies. The Japanese bomber planes, caught in the beam of searchlight, shining brightly in the surrounding gloom and

trying to avoid the attack of the Chinese chaser planes. I watched the surprisingly calm behaviour of the Chinese crowds when death threatened them from the air. I saw the life in the city being carried on almost normally inspite of the terrible strain of the war. I visited **ed factories**, summer schools, military academies, youth camps and universities, torn from their ancient roots, finding a new life and vitality under bamboo shelters. I was fascinated by the growth of the village co-operative movement and cottage industries. I met scholars, statesmen and generals, the leaders of new China, and above all, I had the privilege of meeting on several occasions the supreme leader and the commander of China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, who embodied in himself the unity of China and her determination to free herself. It was my privilege also to meet the first lady of the land, Madam Chiang, who had been a continuous source of inspiration to the nation.

“But though I met men and women of note and distinction, I was trying always to understand the people of China and imbibing

impressions from them. I had read so much about them and their magnificent record of culture and I was eager to sense the reality. That reality came up to my expectations. For I found not only a race wise and profound, deep in lore of its own past, but also a vital people, full of life and energy, adapting themselves to modern conditions. On the face of even the man in the street there was the imprint of thousands of years of culture. That to some extent I had expected. But what impressed me most was the tremendous vitality of the new China. I was no judge of military position but I could not imagine that a people with this vitality and determination and the strength of ages behind them, could ever be crushed.

“Abundant goodwill and hospitality met me everywhere, and soon I realised that this had far more than personal significance. I was looked upon as a representative of India, of the Congress, although I had no such official status, and the people of China were anxious and eager to make friends with Indian people and to develop contacts with them. Nothing

could have pleased me better for that also was my heart's desire."

"And so I came back after thirteen days, reluctantly and yet inevitably, for the call of India in those days of crises was imperative. But that brief stay had been worthwhile for me certainly, and possibly for India and China."

Early in 1942, China reciprocated India's offer of closest comradeship by sending Madam and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek to India for political and military talks and also of course to convey to the Indian people China's earnest desire to see India achieve her independence at the earliest. Indian people afforded their Chinese guests a tumultuous welcome. Speaking in the honour of the distinguished guests Nehru said: "The visit of Madam and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has been a great honour to India and it has been something that will affect the history of India and China. It has been a historical visit, historic in the sense that it would mark a new epoch in the relations of India and China. I feel-convinced in my heart that India and China

## BUCK UP CHINA

shall stand shoulder to shoulder and render whatever help they can to each other in the furtherance of the cause of freedom."

Addressing the state banquet at the Viceroy's house, the Generalissimo said: "Since the outbreak of the pacific war, China and India have been drawn close together. In the midst of the trial of the war I have availed my first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my stay here. We have a Chinese saying: 'to have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay.' I am truly impressed with the greatness of India."

A few days after the visit of Chiangs, on March 7, 1942, fell the China Day. China Day public meetings were held in every provincial capital of India and people thronged them in thousands. Nehru declared on that day that India and China were great comrades in the adventure of man and therefore India should pray that good



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

fortune may attend China in the present and in the future and the victory she had richly deserved be hers in full measure.

On the occasion of 35th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, which fell on October 10, 1946, Nehru sent in his official capacity as the Vice-President of the Government of India, the following message to Mr. S. H. Sih, Secretary incharge of the office of the commissioner of China to India : "It gives me much pleasure to convey to you, and through you to your Government, the greetings of the Government and the people of India on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. India of today greatly values the ancient ties between our countries and desires to strengthen them; and I take this opportunity to express the hope that we shall march forward together in closest friendship to lasting peace prosperity and happiness."

Mr. Sih in reply wrote : "I write to thank you, and through you the Government and people of India, for the greetings you have

been good enough to convey to me on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. The Government and the people of China greatly appreciate your message of goodwill. As the two most populous nations of the world, I am sure, India and China have a great role to play in the destiny of mankind and our closest friendship will certainly contribute much to the lasting peace, prosperity and happiness of the world."

The future of India and China is thus greatly linked together. The mutual desire of the two countries to have fraternal relations is clearly manifest. Geographical nearness, intellectual amity, and traditional memories, supply favourable factors for the fulfillment of this desire.

The Sino-Indian Cultural Association's recent decision to establish at Santiniketan a Madam Chiang Kai-Shek Relief Home provides just one of the many symptoms of an everlasting friendship which will bind together India and China in the days to come.

By the grace of atom bomb, Japan has met her well deserved fate. China with the

co-operation of the Allies has freed herself from the Japanese terror. Though many disruptive forces are raising their ugly head in her body politic, they cannot be tolerated for long. American forces, to which, of course, China is thankful, must now vacate China and thereby facilitate agreement between Kuomintang and the Communists.

China deserves the best of India's compliments for the fortitude and bravery which she has exhibited during the eight years of cruel war. The strain of war has liberated her from the cramping influence of tradition. This is manifest in the recent art and literature produced by China's youth. China's womanhood led by Madam Chiang have attained equality with men in every walk of life and worked shoulder to shoulder with them in building towns, shouldering rifles and conducting guirella war-fare, when occasion demanded. These things have made China young and great. New vital blood surges in her veins. She is one of the "Big Five."

India and Nehru wish China the best of

## BUCK UP CHINA

luck and sincerely desire that from the ghastly debacles of civil war, inhumanity and violence, she may emerge out as a powerful nation, strong and united.

## Down With Fascist Franco.

Annoyed by Churchill's notorious Fulton speech Generalissimo Stalin once remarked that Churchill was a war-monger resembling Hitler. Churchill may resemble Hitler for his instinctive 'love' for wars, but Franco, the military dictator of Spain resembles Hitler in many other ways. Though at the present moment, Franco and Churchill both enjoy the privilege of being the "Big Two" reactionaries of the world, the former reaches nearer Hitler than the latter.

Franco keeps going the political system which Hitler founded. To maintain his fascist regime, he is spreading throughout Spain a centralised propaganda machinery on the lines of Hitler's Gestapo. Like Hitler he is cowing down the people to unwilling submission, exacted ruthlessly at the point of bayonet.

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

While Germany and Italy have been relieved of Hitlerism, it continues to thrive in Spain. Franco is doing in Spain exactly what Hitler did in Germany.

Franco's rise to power tells a tragic story of a grim battle in which a brave people fought for a righteous cause of freedom, but ultimately had to suffer a helpless subjugation at the hands of a Hitler-Mussolini sponsored reactionary. The causes of this barbaric aggression on the part of the German and Italian dictators, were ideological.

When in 1931, agrarian misery and general discontent reached their climax, Spain experienced a revolution which culminated in the abolition of monarchy and establishment of a Republic. Popular front parties, having secured an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly, formed the Government and initiated radical land reforms. This aroused the opposition of conservative reactionaries and vested interests, who looked upon the popular front as a forerunner of Bolshevism.

In 1936 on the suggestion and guarantee

of "all possible support" from Hitler and Mussolini, Franco, the leader of all vested elements of Spain, undertook to overthrow the Republican Government and establish a political system of the German type.

For three years Spain witnessed a turmoil of the so called civil war, though it was foreign invasion pure and simple, which came to the rescue of domestic reaction. The Republican forces enjoying the support of the people gave a tough resistance inspite of the heart-rending hardships which they had to encounter on account of the aerial bombardment by Franco's forces, manned by Moors and fully equipped with German and Italian material. Lack of food made the Republican Spain a land of starving soldiers.

Jawahar Lal Nehru, the internationalist, imbued with intolerance for suppression of mass resurgence, could not stand the cold non-chalance of India towards the rule of the knout in Spain. He accumulated India's sympathy for Spain by telling to his people that the frontiers of India's struggle for freedom lay not only in India but in every oppressed country of the world. It was not merely the

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

freedom of Spain that was in danger in one part of the world, but the freedom of the world as a whole was on trial and if India did not partake in the struggle for freedom going on in Spain, he asked, for what kind of freedom was she fighting in her own homelands.

When the Spanish cauldron was boiling at its highest pitch in June 1938, Nehru went to Spain to buck up the Republican forces, in spite of his pre-occupations at home. He carried with him the message of India's sympathy for the Spanish people who were at that time in a miserable plight.

Nehru's mission to Spain was a great landmark in the history of nationalist India's policy regarding external affairs.

When Nehru reached Spain, Barcelona, the Republican capital, with war front at its doors, smiled a warm welcome to him. He spent there five days and five nights "crowded with events and impressions the memory of which will endure." He saw big buildings and roads reduced to debris by the heavy bombs of the enemy. His heart choked with



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

pain when he saw the women and children of Spain pulling on with intolerably meagre rations.

Nehru met the leading personalities of Spain, Del-Vayo, Lister and Passionaria. He could not see Senor Negrin, the Prime Minister of the Republic, who was away in Madrid.

General Lister was the most trusted general of the Spanish army who did not lose his charm or gaiety even in difficult situations and whose whole bearing radiated self-confidence and assurance. "He was the happy warrior whom nothing seemed to dismay and who was a pillar of strength when the outlook was darkest."

Senor Del Vayo, the foreign Minister of the Republic, was a journalist whom vitality and will-power had brought up to the position of a key-man of the Government—a position next to that of the Prime Minister. Nehru had enough frank talk with him and presented him the Indian National flag.

Nehru also met Passionaria, the famous

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

woman of Spain, who spoke "impassioned words tumbling over each other", her face lighted up by the fire within and her fine eyes sparkling. She wielded immense influence over the Spanish masses and was a source of inspiration and courage to them.

Besides these personalities, Nehru met the people of Spain, in whom he was most interested. They impressed him as a brave people who smiled and laughed in spite of the hard situation they were then facing. Describing his experience of this situation Nehru writes: "Nightly I saw the bombs fall from the air, raining death and destruction on the populace, I saw the hungry crowds in the streets, the plight of the refugees; I visited the armies at the front and those brave young men of the International Brigade, so many of whom rest forever in the soil of Spain."

But the enemy bombs could neither snatch the smile from the faces of the people nor kill their determination to resist the enemy to their last soldier. "They put an end to the dreams of an easy victory which General Franco nourished."

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

Madrid was resisted for full two years inspite of the critical food situation, becoming graver by the fact that besides soldiers and the normal population, the vast number of refugees from Franco's territories had also to be fed. But the toleration of the people was great and they bravely put up with smaller amount of food.

In the beginning the Republican Government expected help from England and France but these two countries declared their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Spain. "The farce of this non-intervention" says Nehru "was an astonishing thing and showed up how rotten were the standards and methods of international affairs. Non-intervention in Spain was the parent of Munich."

Nehru rightly guessed the consequences of this non-intervention. Its child, the Munich, sprung up soon afterwards. While Nehru was still in Spain, another tragedy was taking place in Czechoslovakia. Hitler, the then German Dictator, had launched his demand for cession of Sudetenland to Germany. Heavy fighting

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

occured in the Sudetenland and along its border, but Great Britain, France and Russia on whose help Czechoslovakia had relied, betrayed her at the moment of need, and through the Munich agreement she was forced to cede the Sudetenland. The part played by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the then British Premier, in this betrayal was most deplorable.

Nehru came to Czechoslovakia and much to his grief and helplessness, saw with his own eyes, the poor little country being rethlessly plundered by Hitlerian monsters.

Dismayed and disillusioned, Nehru came to India and arranged to send some food to Spain. Though the amount of food sent was much less than was required to ease the situation in Spain, it was enough as a gesture of India's sympathy for the suffering Spaniards and for the comradeship and the strong binding link of common cause—the cause of freedom. The Spanish freedom was at stake and it was India's duty to help her as much as she could.

Nehru also sent on behalf of India the

following homage to the Spanish Republic on January 24, 1939.

"In this age when black reaction grips the world and cultures and civilization decay and violence seems to reign unchecked the magnificent struggle of the Spanish and Chinese Republics against overwhelming odds have lightened the darkness of many a wanderer through pathless night. We sorrow for the incredible horrors that have taken place and our hearts are full of pride and admiration for the human courage that has smiled through disaster and found greater strength in it, and for the invincible spirit of man that does not bend to insolent might whatever the consequences. Anxiously we follow the fate of the people of Spain and yet we know that they can never be crushed for a cause that has this invincible courage and sacrifice behind it can never die. Madrid and Valencia and Barcelona will live for ever more and out of their ashes the Spanish Republic will yet build up the free Spain of their desire."

These words came straight from the heart of a leader who has himself fought many a time

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

battles on various fronts for the very cause which had inspired the Spanish people to action against the mighty power of Hitler and Mussolini, who had dared to impugn their independence.

Continuing his homage to the Republic, Nehru said: "I congratulate those who have organised this performance and those who are taking part in it in order to aid the Spanish people in their dire distress. We can do little for these torch bearers of freedom but we can at least send them this tribute to their magnificent courage and to the cause to which they have offered their immeasurable sacrifice."

While Spain was still determined to keep face towards the Franco's armies, the French Government at the instance of the British, closed the pyrenese frontier—the frontier touching the Spanish borders. This step of the French Government sounded the deathknell of the Spanish Republic and on April 4, 1939 the Republican armies surrendered.

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## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

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## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

world. After devastating Spain and Czechoslovakia the Hitlerian monsters had in their train similar havoc for the whole of Europe, Great Britain and Asia.

And Nehru's sympathies instinctively went to the suffering nations. But inspite of being a vital political figure of the world, his hands were tied and strength chained up. He could render them no help. He wanted India to play her natural and rightful role in the struggle against the Fascist rogues, but India was herself in bondage of an imperialist power. Indian National Congress, the voice of India, made a demand for the loosening of the chains of slavery so that India may join the Allies for making her healthy contribution to the struggle against aggressive powers.

But alas! Instead of winning the goodwill of the Indian nation, the doors of jails were opened ajar. Indian leaders were hushed inside in thousands and lacs. And Nehru was one of them. He felt awfully sorry for the part played by the British. They had deprived the Allies of India's co-operation. Wasn't that

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

an act of indirect help to the enemy? Who can say if India were allowed full participation in the war on the side of the Allies, the Fascists may have faced their defeat much earlier than they actually did? After all India accommodates one-fifth of the world's man power.

Still God be thanked that today Nazism and Fascism have been rooted out with or without India's co-operation; though there is enough evidence to establish the fact that some of the victor nations are trying to inculcate in themselves the spirit of fascism.

Franco's regime still flourishes in Spain. It seems that while the Allies have knocked down the Fascist powers, Franco, the supercilious child of Fascism continues sitting on a safety valve in Spain.

It is, of course, consoling to note that the more progressive nations of the world are looking at the existing conditions in Spain with extreme disapproval. The United Nations Organization is already giving considerable thought to the Spanish problem. On October 25, 1946, M. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

the United Nations asked the current session of the General Assembly to take a stand against Generalissimo Franco and remove, what he suggested, a serious obstacle to the smooth progress of the Organization.

He said that the Assembly could do valuable service "by giving comprehensive guidance to organs and member states of the United Nations regarding their relationship with the Franco regime."

Mr. Lie added. "It seems clear that as long as the Franco regime remains in Spain it will remain a constant cause of mistrust and disagreement between the founders of the United Nations."

Recently Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Leader of the Indian Delegation at the U. N. O. also urged the United Nations to take concerted action for ending the Franco regime. Asserting that India was glad to offer her whole-hearted support to the people of Spain, she expressed her complete condemnation and detestation of the Franco regime. She pointed out that India had no diplomatic relations with

## DOWN WITH FASCIST FRANCO

Franco Spain and declared "nor does she intend to have any in the existing circumstances."

Mrs. Pandit said: "I appeal to all states to make known to the world in no uncertain terms their attitude towards the Franco Government and to act consistently with the principles of the United Nations. The matter cannot be regarded as a domestic issue since it contains a possibility of a threat to the peace of the world. It must, therefore, be treated as of international importance and unanimous action should be taken by which the Spanish people may be helped in ending the Fascist Franco regime."

Let us hope that not in the distant future, the United Nations would make definite decision on this important matter and Franco should find himself couched on the edge of volcano.

## SEVEN

# Foreign Policy Since September Two

Before September 2, 1946, India was merely playing a second fiddle to the British Government in international politics. Though one used to hear of India's 'representatives' in international organizations, they were Indians only in name. Being nominated by the British Government they represented any thing but the Indian nation or the Indian point of view. This fact was not a secret to the other nations whose delegates used to treat those so called representatives of India with due indifference. Mudaliars and Noons were just British stooges whose only function, as loyal servants, was to count their vote on the side of Britain, without the least regard for the interests of India.

Nehru's advent as Member for External and Commonwealth Relations into first Interim National Government of India affected a noticeable and welcome revolution in the official

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

foreign policy of India. Not only did India cease to be a satellite of Britain at the United Nations Organization and other international conferences but also many a time voted against Britain and other Commonwealth countries.

Under the guidance of Nehru, India put forward an independent foreign policy— a policy based on India's support for the human and moral principles of freedom for all colonial and dependent peoples and their full right to self-determination and her opposition to any kind of colour or racial discrimination. When Nehru took office, the previous custodians of India's official foreign policy being merely the agents of the British Government could hardly reconcile themselves with Nehru's rejuvenated foreign policy, and hence they had to make room for India's real representatives, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Mr. Justice Chagla, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Sir Maharaj Singh and others.

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Three weeks after assuming the charge of External and Commonwealth Relations Department, Nehru unfolded a detailed layout of the



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

foreign policy of India before a Departmental Press conference. He made it clear that in the sphere of international affairs India would follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. India would always uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and work with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill without allowing exploitation of one nation by another. In keeping with this policy India would develop towards the United Nations Organization an attitude of whole-hearted cooperation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the Charter governing it.

Nehru's foreign policy was explained further by Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit on October 26, during her first address delivered before the United Nations General Assembly at New York as the leader of the Indian Delegation, responsible to India's first National Government. She said:

"We in India have pursued steadfastly, often at great cost, the goal of freedom of



Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit



## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

peoples to which this great organization is dedicated.

“We have yet to achieve our independence but we have travelled so far along the road of freedom that today for the first time India’s delegate to an international assembly is briefed and accredited by a National Government and speaks with a full sense of responsibility and authority vested in that Government by the confidence and sanction of our people.

“India does not yet play a sufficiently effective part in this Assembly. She desires and intends to do so. As a majority country, geographically in a strategic position in the Indian ocean with significant relations and cultural ties with her neighbours in Asia, the contribution she has made in resistance to aggression and the case of human freedom and her role in world economy entitle her to a place in important organs of the United Nations. I would mention the Security and Trusteeship Councils and ask for an adequate share in the administration of these organizations. We are confident that this Assembly

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

will readily recognize and respond adequately to these desires.

“Hitherto as a dependent people our relations with the rest of the world were perforce not of our choice or making. Today the Government have announced the outlines of an independent foreign policy.

“We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and denial of freedom anywhere must lead to conflict and war. We repudiate bitterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism where-soever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no discrimination over others. We claim no privileged position over other peoples but we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

“For this reason and as a demonstration we expect the United Nations to implement in practice principles and basis of civilized life which have been embodied in the Charter.

“India firmly believes that imperialism, political, economic or social and in whatever

part of the world it may exist and by whomsoever it may be established and perpetrated, is totally inconsistent with the objects and the purposes of the United Nations and its Charter. Sufferings, frustration, violation of human dignity and challenge to world peace, freedom and security that an empire represents, must be one of the prime concerns of this parliament of world's peoples. Millions look to it to resist and kill imperialism in all its forms even as they rely upon it to crush the vast vestiges of Fascism and Nazism. India looks with confidence to the United Nations to give to the exploited millions of the world faith and hope and promise that their liberation is at hand.

“India is concerned about the use of armed powers of member states for purposes other than preventing aggression on behalf of the United Nations. The use of troops against the national aspirations of the people for the protection of the vested imperial interests and virtually as armies of occupation, threatening both the weaker peoples and the world peace as a whole, call for unreserved condemnation

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

by the United Nations—and for the demand that all such troops shall be withdrawn.

“This Assembly is no doubt aware of the strength and unity of the feeling in India on the use of Indian troops in Indonesia and elsewhere. Surely with the Great War ended in victory for freedom, it is time to end these lesser wars waged for the empires.”

### “END THE COLONIAL SYSTEM”

On September 24, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan who was addressing the U. N. O. at Paris on the “Big Four” declaration that “interested Governments” would be consulted when the “Big Four” took their final decision on the disposal of Italy’s African Empire, vigorously attacked the colonial system when he said that the future of the colonies was a vital question to hundreds of thousands of people who had hitherto been subjected to a rule which in their opinion was preposterous.

Sir Ranganadhan asserted that in the opinion of the Indian Delegation, subject peoples should have the right to self-determination and they be afforded the means to build their economies.

He said: "We have noticed the tendency, to look down upon these populations as chattels. One speaks, for instance of the 'disposal of colonies'.

"The whole tone is significant of the evils of the colonial system. The economic advancement of people has too long been used as an excuse for prolonging the exploitation. We see no need for exploiting the African peoples under the cover of economic development. The fact that Italians have settled in the Arab lands can give no ground to the Italians for their exploitation."

Sir Samuel further declared that it would be totally contrary to commonsense and justice that those forces which had substantially assisted in liberating those territories should also assist in reintroducing control of them in any form. Such a step would be surrender of all that the Indian Army fought for in Africa.

"Any association of Italian officials with the administration—as asked by Italy—pending final decision would be interpreted by the inhabitants that the Italians were to return as masters."



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

Sir Samuel urged that the wishes of the inhabitants should be ascertained and felt that Abyssinia would agree to this since she was sure that the inhabitants of Eritrea supported her claim to this area. He was sure that the inhabitants of Libya would want to obtain independence at the earliest possible moment.

“The Indian Delegation” he said “strongly recommend that the Conference should make these representations as a sign that the nations gathered here are prepared to take an enlightened attitude in regard to the colonial problem and aim at the abolition of the colonial system within a definite period. India was strongly opposed to suggestions that Italy should retain her sovereignty over the colonies. In our view the sovereignty is, in the last analysis, inherent in the people of the country. When the Italian sovereignty will disappear the people of the country will recover their inherent sovereignty.”

“Independence of all the peoples was the central idea of India’s thesis” concluded Sir Samuel Ranganadhan.

## **DIRECT ADMINISTRATION BY U.N.O.**

India has taken the most democratic stand on the matter of the administration of trust territories. On November 18, the Indian Delegation proposed before the United Nations Trusteeship Sub-Committee the transfer of administration of trust territories from individual nations direct to the United Nations Trusteeship.

India's spokesman, Sir Maharaj Singh, placing the proposal before the house demanded that all trust territories be administered as a rule by the U.N.O. itself. He said: "India believes that to have the United Nations as the administering authority will result in the speeding up of progress whereby the peoples concerned will achieve one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System—self-government and independence."

"The ruling power generally invariably delays or impedes self-government on the ground that the people in the territories are not yet in a state to receive it. India believes that U. N. O. will be more impartial in its administration than any single administering Power

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

which tends to consider its own interests together with those of the inhabitants.

“Moreover under single administering authority discrimination is often insidiously introduced into the administrative practice. Furthermore under the United Nations there will be less danger to international peace and security and stricter control over the establishment of military, naval and air bases.”

India was supported in this proposal by Russia and Iraq. No sound argument against India's proposal came forth from any of the objecting countries, New Zealand and Britain. Their criticism was emanating entirely from the fact that they happened to be the custodians of many farcical mandates which they administered in a way as if these were their colonies.

On November 23, India had to withdraw in the face of bitter opposition her revolutionary proposal to take away the administration of Western Samoa from New Zealand and place it under the United Nations. India had to give up her fight after the United States and

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

Britain had issued an undemocratic warning that the approval of the Indian resolution might scuttle the whole United Nations Trusteeship System.

During a debate on article 10 of New Zealand's draft agreement which gave the administering authority the right to establish naval, military and air bases etc. and fortifications in the trustee territory and station armed forces, Mr. V K. Krishna Menon gave a stout opposition to the draft and said: "We maintain that if large military bases are erected over trust territories, it should be done under the authority of the Security Council. What New Zealand is preparing is merely a rehash of old imperialist methods.

"If New Zealand does not accept the United Nations verdict over the Trusteeship Agreement, the territory could not legally be fortified. If imperialist powers want their bases, that is their affair; but they should not ask us to give international sanction to their plans. There can be no question of independence for trusteeship peoples under the shadow of the guns of another power."

India was supported in this opposition by Russia. The Indian Delegation also proposed international trusteeship for South-West Africa.

### **New Candidates For U.N O. Membership.**

#### **INDIA OPPOSES PORTUGAL.**

Speaking before the Political Committee of the United Nations on November 9, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit severely challenged Portugal's right to membership of the U.N.O. She said :

"Portugal's foreign policy is thoroughly reactionary. I speak from experience, for we know what Portuguese policy is and the manner in which Portugal has been dealing with her subjects in the tiny Portuguese Settlement of Goa in India.

"There the civil liberties are severely curtailed, there is little freedom of speech and anyone who criticizes the policy of the Portuguese administration is brought to book—often by court-martial—and given inhuman sentences.

"Among the applicants for admission into the U.N.O, there is in our opinion, one country

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

and only one, which is definitely not fitted to be a member of the United Nations—I mean Portugal. The Portuguese Government from all accounts is authoritarian. It has a distinctively fascist flavour and its collaboration with Franco Spain does not add to its credit.”

### BUT SUPPORTS IRELAND.

Regretting that Eire had not been recommended by the Security Council for membership, Mrs Pandit said : “We feel that Eire fully satisfies the conditions laid down in the Charter. Eire is not merely a peace-loving but a freedom-loving country, eminently fitted for the membership of the United Nations.

“Eire could not be admitted as an original member of the United Nations, because at that time the definition of a peace-loving country was that it should have declared war. That definition is no longer applicable. The Indian Delegation feel that Eire fully satisfies the condition laid down in article 4 of the Charter.

“India has always had a certain fundamental sympathy with Eire. Like India Eire has fought long and hard for her freedom. Indeed

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

our eminent patriots used to follow Irish methods for obtaining freedom. Later, however, thanks to the gospel of non-violence elaborated by Mahatma Gandhi, we have been following a different and noble method. This however does not detract us from our admiration for the tenacity and vigour with which Eire conducted her struggle."

## TRANSJORDAN AND ALBANIA.

Pleading that Transjordan should also be a member of the United Nations, Mrs. Pandit said: "We have sympathy with Transjordan as a Middle East state, which has recently attained independence. Doubts have been expressed in the Committee regarding the independence which she has obtained, even if these doubts, were justified, we feel that they should not stand in the way of Transjordan's membership of the United Nations. I say this as a subject of a country which has herself not yet obtained complete independence."

Feeling sorry over the rejection of Albania's application for admission to the United Nations Mrs. Pandit requested

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

the house to reconsider their decision. She said: "I was impressed by the figures given by the Soviet delegate regarding the sacrifices made by Albania, which was one of the first victims in the struggle against Fascism and Nazism during the war."

Mrs. Pandit expressed the Indian Delegation's satisfaction over the fact that Afghanistan, Iceland, and Sweden were going to be admitted to the United Nations.

## RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL PERSECUTION

Egypt put forward on November 10 a resolution asking the nations to put an immediate end to religious and racial persecution. The resolution also called on governments to take prompt and energetic steps to conform to the letter and spirit of the Charter.

India, along with United States, Russia, Britain, Saudi Arabia, Ukraine and Haiti Republic, strongly supported the Egyptian resolution. Justice M. C. Chagla, addressing the General Assembly of the U.N.O. on behalf of



## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

the Indian Delegation declared: "We must show to the world that we do not merely sign charters but condemn racial persecution and discrimination in every part of the world. A resolution of this character will strengthen our organization and give it a great moral support. Its value has been increased and not restricted by its not being confined to any particular state. I do ask you not to delete this resolution from the agenda. What impression would it create to the outside world if you did so ?

"The impression would be that this organization does not condemn persecution or discrimination in every part of the world."

The General Assembly ultimately put the Egyptian resolution on the agenda.

## INDIA SUPPORTS VETO POWER.

Though India dislikes the veto power, her support for it has been on account of the realisation that without the veto, the United Nations Organization in its initial stages, cannot function effectively as the custodian of the world peace.

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

The Indian Delegate, Mr. K.P.S. Menon, made it clear before the United Nations Political and Security Committee that however undemocratic the veto power might seem in theory, it was in essence a reflection of the realities of the international situation.

Mr. Menon said : "The veto formula was devised in war time to perpetuate in peace that unity which existed between the great Powers in the war. Whether the record of the Security Council during the last 10 months has justified this hope is a point on which all of us have great doubts.

"If the veto is essentially a reflection of the international situation, the use that has been made of it, in our opinion, is equally a reflection of the tension which prevails in the international atmosphere.

"It behoves us all—diplomats, statesmen and last, but not the least, the Press—not to say or do anything to add to this tension. We certainly do not wish to do so.

"As Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru put it in his first statement on foreign policy, 'India has

the greatest faith in the United Nations and indeed in the great Powers functioning within it.' Let us remember that what made the League of Nations so ineffective was the inability of the United States to join it, and later, withdrawal of certain Great Powers from it. We cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of the past.'

### REGULATION OF THE VETO.

"In our opinion, what is needed is not to restrict the area of the veto but regulate its use. This surely is the matter for the Big Five to consider. Let us hope that they will take note of the views expressed in this Committee and come to a gentleman's agreement regarding the use, or what is more important, refraining the use of the veto."

But the Committee, still in a mood of indecision, adopted by 38 votes to 6 the French proposal to postpone further discussion on the veto.

### CENSUS OF TROOPS.

In conformity with the foreign policy as enumerated by Pandit Nehru, the Indian Delegation supported on November 22, the Russian

resolution demanding census of troops in the non-enemy territories. The Indian delegate, Mrs. Pandit, inaugurating the debate on this subject declared: "There is no reason why information regarding the position of troops and location of air and naval bases in these areas, should not be furnished. On the contrary there is every reason why it should be.

"During the wartime, information regarding troops has of necessity to be kept a secret, but in peacetime secrecy does more harm than good, in fact it is impossible to maintain secrecy.

"The only result of attempting to maintain secrecy would be that information will leak out somehow causing wild exaggerated and often distorted rumours".

Dealing with the resolution so far as it affected India, Mrs. Pandit said: "During the past war Indian troops were distributed all over the eastern hemisphere. They fought in Tunisia, Tripolitania, Abyssinia, Cyrenaica, Somaliland, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Greece, and the whole length of Italy. Mere enumeration of these places will show the range and extent

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

of the duties assigned to Indian troops during the war. They were to defeat aggression not only in the West but also in the East. In no Far Eastern theatre was so crushing a defeat inflicted on the enemy as in Burma in 1945.

“It was because we were conscious of the contribution which India had made in the two world wars in the cause of international peace and security and also of the contribution which she is capable of making in case—God forbid—there is another war that we stood as a candidate for the Security Council.

“We were unsuccessful, but I hope neither you Mr. Chairman (Dr. Manuilsky, Ukraine), nor any other member of the Committee will think that India did not fulfill completely the criterion for election to the Security Council which has been laid down in the Charter.

“The war is over and as someone said, peace has broken out. The vast majority of Indian troops have been withdrawn. A handful, however, continued to be employed in certain areas. To be quite candid India was not happy

## FOREIGN POLICY SINCE SEPTEMBER TWO

about the employment of these troops. In Indonesia they were employed on the innocuous and indeed, essential task of protection and evacuation of Allied internees, but the Indians resented their use to bring pressure against the Indonesians who were engaged in a struggle for freedom.

"One of the first tasks of the new Indian Government was to insist on the withdrawal of these troops. In accordance with the scheme laid down some weeks ago the withdrawal of Indian troops will be complete by the end of November. We also hope that the few troops who are still in Iraq will be withdrawn shortly.

"We feel that information called for under the resolution should be furnished by all member-states without any hesitation. We support the resolution because we feel that it would facilitate implementation of the article 43 of the Charter and because it will be a step towards the ultimate objective we all have in mind, namely a scheme of universal and well-regulated reduction of arms."

Thus the manner in which the Indian

Delegation has been making their contribution in the deliberations of the United Nations Organization gives a clear demonstration that India is an uncompromising champion of the cause of democracy and self-determination for all dependent peoples and is a great asset to the progressive forces of the world.

Besides conducting a democratic foreign policy of India, Nehru has also planned to introduce new and independent diplomatic relations with other countries. Mr. K. V. Krishna Menon, Pandit Nehru's personal representative at the United Nations Assembly, was deputed to explore possibilities of establishing diplomatic relations with certain countries in Europe.

During the days of the Paris Conference, Mr. Menon met M. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar, who expressed his willingness to exchange diplomatic Representative with India. The details of the arrangements are to be settled at Moscow within few days.

The idea of exchanging Diplomatic Representative with U. S. A. has already been accomplished and the previous offices of Rep-

representatives in New Delhi and Washington have been raised to those of Embassies. India's relations with United Kingdom have also undergone a tremendous change. New Delhi has exchanged High Commissioner with London.

Nehru's foreign policy characterized by its open disapproval of power politics, is winning for India a new international status. India's support for all that is democratic and conducive to world peace and opposition to everything disastrous for it and her lack of selfish ambitions or interests which she might want to attain at the expense, directly or indirectly, of any other country or people in the world, are all proving her bonafides in the international sphere. Day in and day out, India's voice is compelling more and more influence in world affairs.



## EIGHT

### Smuts Trounced

Since Hitler nobody has so openly identified himself with the doctrines of racialism as Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. It is indeed appalling that the Africander, whom St. Nihal Singh certifies as a "Field Marshal, who as an almost unbearded youth, bearded the British lion in his South African den; a Field Marshal who is acclaimed as the 'Empire's Elder Statesman' who has just been hobnobbing with royalty in Sandringham as well as Hague; a Field Marshal who pirouetted as the peacemaker between the warring European Blocs; a Field Marshal who in America is acclaimed as the father—almost the gener—of the San Fransisco incarnated United Nations" and a Field Marshal who recently claimed the spiritual leadership of whole of Europe, should indulge in fantastic discrimination between

white and the black, yellow and the brown, European and the Asian and all that in the middle of the twentieth century when the black man has come into his own and risen high from the abysmal depths of ignorance to a blissful awakening for human values; when the whiteman's 'burden' is fast disappearing and by that process shedding light and freedom to the dark corners of the world; and when a new world based on the United Nations Charter, is in the making.

India is on the threshold of independence. But her quarter of a million nationals in South Africa are not only being denied the franchise, the right to respectable employment and opportunity to life of peaceful citizenship but are also being treated as inferiors, subjected to humiliation by the white population and inflicted many social insults. Syed Raza Ali, a former High Commissioner for India in South Africa, speaking of the racial discrimination in South Africa, makes mention of one of his personal experiences. He says: "I remember the humiliation to which I was subjected during my stay in the Union as High Commissioner for India

when a white lift-boy, having discovered from my wife's dress that we were Indians, refused to operate a lift. At Lorenzo Marques (a hotel) which is practically under the Union Government's management, the white waiters refused to serve lunch to a fairly large party of my guests because some of them were Indians. What a grand social status to enjoy ?"

Thus Syed Raza Ali says: "Not the best, the richest, the most cultured and aristocratic Indian has any social status in South Africa." One encounters discrimination against Indians everywhere, on the railway stations, in the trains, post offices, cinemas, hotels, restaurants, tramways, buses and steamers.

In South Africa the Europeans still seem to believe in the outmoded doctrine that there are two races in the world, one the race of whites, the other of non-whites. The whites being fundamentally superior, their right to supremacy and mastery over the natives and the Indians is unquestionable.

Therefore, they see in the growing economic

## SMUTS TROUNCED

advancement of the non-whites an unsurmountable danger to their artificially superior social position and have devised all legal and constitutional means at their disposal for withholding that advancement. They have put innumerable constitutional barriers on the black races in order to keep them in a perpetual state of illiteracy and servitude. In the whole of South Africa 'not a single native drives a single train, not only are there no native judges but no native magistrates, persecutors or even clerks of the court.' By discriminatory legislation the South African Government have deliberately denied schooling facilities to 25000 Indian children of the school-going age.

Such is the inhuman treatment that is being metted out to the progeny of those Indians who were carried in 1860 to South Africa on an incommutable guarantee by the Union authorities of rights at par with other nationals of the Union. The original Indian immigrants went to South Africa at the "urgent and importunate request" of the South African Government. As Justice Chagla declared before the U. N. O., "They did not go as homeless migrants looking

for shelter and refuge, but they went as the result of solemn assurances and undertakings given by the South African Government."

The Indians have done invaluable service to South Africa. By the dint of their hard work they have turned arid jungles into beautiful gardens, not only for themselves but also for the Europeans.

In 1927, the Union Government, in appreciation of the services rendered by Indians in South Africa, singled unreservedly on the Cape-town Agreement which stated categorically:—

"The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provision for educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population of South Africa should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

## SMUTS TROUNCED

In 1932 the Cape Town Agreement was reaffirmed by the African Government.

But today that very Government stands a criminal for having violated this solemn Agreement. While it takes pleasure in declaring that it had accepted the South African Indians as South African nationals, it is reluctant to grant them any representation in the municipal, provincial, or the national assemblies of the country. While Indians tried their best to merge themselves into the African population and even gave up their distinctive modes of life for adopting Western patterns, the Union Government has been carrying on an anti-Indian legislation—the latest model of which is supplied by a recent enactment by the Union Government of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, which closes for ever the previously allowed few amenities of economic culture for the Indian community, by prohibiting them from acquiring any land except in particular localities.

By this very Act, at the present moment, Indians and Africans who form more than 75

percent of the total population of South Africa, have only seven out of a total of 200 representatives in the Central Legislature, and even these seven can only be represented by Europeans.

This outflanking discriminatory policy of the Union Government has brought to a standstill all the diplomatic relations between India and South Africa. In 1943 the Government of India enacted as a retaliatory measure, a Reciprocity Act, banning the entry into or residence in India of South Africans, except by permission. In July 1946 India denounced Trade Agreements governing trade relations between the two countries and since then there has been no commercial transaction between them. India has also withdrawn her High Commissioner from South Africa.

Since the legislation of Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, South African Indians have been conducting a passive resistance movement by peaceful occupation of land in ~~non-exempted~~ areas in civil disobedience of the provisions of this Act. Up to now more than

## SMUTS TROUNCED

1000 Indian resisters have been convicted and put behind the bars.

But the sanctions enacted by the Government of India against South Africa and the Disobedience movement of Indians in South Africa did not call forth any response from the Union Government. The Indian request to the Union Government for convening a Round Table conference on the lines of those of 1927 and 1932 also fell on deaf ears. Even the fact of India's newly attained political status emancipated by Nehru's leadership in the Indian Government, did not move the Field Marshal from his intransigence.

Direct settlement with South Africa having become wellnigh impossible, India was left with no other course except referring the matter to the United Nations Organization. Under the leadership of Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit the Indian Delegation at the U. N. O. filed India's case against South Africa with extraordinary ability. The United Nation Charter to which South Africa is a signatory categorically declares that member-nations agree:—



“To reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in equal rights of men and women, and of nations, large and small.

“To establish conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of International Law can be maintained.”

Mrs. Pandit, banking her plea on the U. N. Charter demanded from the U. N. O. the implementation of the above articles of the Charter. She said: “The fundamental rights recently promised to the peoples of the world (through the U. N. Charter) are being denied to Indians living in South Africa, thus raising a question of moral and human issues which contains the gravest implications for the future peace and progress of the world. An enduring peace cannot be achieved so long as there is discrimination against one race by another. This discrimination continues to sow the seeds of bitterness and strife in many parts of the globe and must be ended now and for all time, thus making it possible for the peoples of the

## SMUTS TROUNCED

world to contribute in building up the future.

"The Indian case in South Africa becomes, therefore, a test case not only on the question of human rights but also for the purposes and the principles of the Charter itself. South African-Indian issue contained in it the seeds of the World War III. It was a question of domination of white over the black. The coloured man is on the march and he could not tolerate the domination by the white because of the colour of the skin. It was, therefore, a fundamental human issue and must go before the bar of the world opinion. No one individual however great should deal with it."

On October 25, General Smuts made desperate attempts to torpedo India's case. He tabled an outright request to the Steering Committee of the United Nations General Assembly that the item "Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa" should be deleted from the provisional agenda on the grounds that it was in conflict with the provisions of article 27 of the Charter.

Pleading that the Indian-South African

problem arose not in regard to Indian nationals but to Indians who were South African nationals, General Smuts said: "We are dealing surely with a people who are South African nationals and who have a grievance against their own Government. If United Nations can deal with this matter the people everywhere were going to raise matters with this Organization on similar lines and make things impossible within the United Nations.

"Matters like this are specifically excluded in the terms of the Charter under article 7 and I want to make a point that this item conflicts with the provisions of the Charter which lays down that matters essentially of the domestic jurisdiction do not fall within its province."

M. Andrei Vishinsky, the Russian representative on the Committee opposing General Smuts's argument said:

"This question is not properly an internal problem, it is an international one. Actually it represents a breach of agreement between two States—South Africa and India—concerning the fate of Indian nationals in South Africa.

## SMUTS TROUNCED

The Indian Delegation has every reason to call attention of the Assembly to the problem. This is clearly shown by article I, paragraph 3 of the Charter, wherein it is stated that the purposes of the United Nations are to promote and encourage respect for human rights and four fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language and religion."

The Steering Committee after enough deliberations decided to recommend to the General Assembly that it should consider India's charge of discrimination of her citizens against South Africa.

This marked India's first victory in the United Nations Organization.

The Indian Delegation tabled a new motion on November 21, on the South African-Indian dispute stating: "The General Assembly, having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the matter, is of the opinion that firstly, the Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in

## LEADER OF EAST AND WEST

particular on grounds of their race constitutes a denial of human rights and is contrary to the Charter.

“Secondly, the Union Government’s policy in general and the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 in particular have impaired a friendly relations between two member-states and unless a satisfactory settlement is arrived at immediately, these relations are likely to be further impaired.

“The General Assembly therefore considers that the Union Government should revise her general policy and legislative and administrative measures affecting Asiatics in South Africa so as to bring them into conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter and requests the Union Government to report at the next session of the General Assembly the action taken by them in this behalf.”

This motion was supported by the Chinese Delegate, Dr. Wellington Koo, who said: “There was little doubt that the Asiatic Laws in South Africa were discriminatory and that the

## SMUTS TROUNCED

Asiatic Land Tenure Act, for instance, discriminated not only against Indians but against all peoples of Asia.

"This question has become a sort of sore in the body politic of the family of nations. Are we going to allow this sore to fester until it develops into a very grave situation?

"The discriminatory laws in South Africa were equally applicable to Chinese nationals and other nationals of Asiatic origin."

Mahmoud Fawzi Bey, pointing that the matter was not a purely domestic one, declared: "None of us want the pages of our Charter to become frozen. We must implement and respect them. We must make the Charter a living thing."

The Persian Delegate also supported the Indian resolution, saying: "My country is in full sympathy with the proposal made by the Indian Delegation. In this discrimination not only one country is involved but the entire continent of Asia and the world."

When the chairman of the Committee

intervened in these deliberations and suggested adjournment, saying that the Committee was not yet fully advised on the merits of this 'complicated and very important matter' M. Manuilsky the Ukraine Delegate strongly opposed his suggestion and shouted: "I would have a free discussion of this problem right now," adding "Various principles of the United Nations Charter had been violated in south Africa and I must insist that we have a debate here on the very substance of the problem."

India also received White Russian Delegate, M. Kiselev's support, who urged the U. N. O. to demand from the Government of South Africa the cessation of all illegal actions and respect for the Charter which its delegation had signed.

On November 25, the Indian Delegate, Justice Chagla, gave an appropriate reply to General Smuts who had tried to show that the South African-Indian question was a domestic affair for South African Government and hence outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Justice Chagla said :—

## SMUTS TROUNCED

"South Africa by her own act in signing the Charter had chosen to restrict and contract her domestic sphere. All the nations have joined the United Nations Organization on the basis of the Charter. Its provisions bind everybody. Is it suggested that any signatories can with impunity violate one of the binding terms of the Charter and that U. N. O. has no right to take any action against the offending member? If that be a true interpretation, I do in all seriousness ask you to treat this Charter as a scrap of paper. Tear it up and have done with it. We are sitting here wasting our time.

Mr. Chagla declared: "It is the decision of this Committee which will either inspire the people of the world with a hope that there is going to be peace and security or will make them feel that this Organization is merely a facade behind which old passion and racial arrogance still sway the minds of Governments notwithstanding the Charter."

"Do members present here have any doubt as to what human rights and fundamentals of freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex language or religion mean? Have they any doubt



as to what equal rights of men and women and nations large and small mean? And have they any doubt that discrimination between race and race or segregation of one race as an inferior race violates the principles of the Charter?"

"Could it be suggested that if South Africa were to introduce slavery into its domain, this organ would not interfere? It is for this reason that the Indian Delegation has been emphasizing the fact that you have to consider a pre-eminently political question rather than a legal question.

"Whether the matter is initially domestic or not must also depend on the development of international relations. It is rather late in the day for South Africa to urge that this is a domestic matter."

Mr. Chagla added: "If the Indian resolution were defeated it would mean that this Organisation does not exist in order to protect human rights and fundamental freedom and is prepared to convince the wicked and vicious doctrine of a master race which so many nations victoriously fought in the last war at a

## SMUTS TROUNCED

tremendous cost of blood, tears and sweat."

Mrs. Pandit also declared before the Legal and Political Committee of the U.N.O. on November 26: "The issue before the committee is whether Western civilization is going to be based on the theory of racial supremacy or whether the barriers imposed between men and men on ground of colour are to be broken down and justice and equality to be considered the due of all.

"Even if there were no United Nations to guide us, there would still remain the need for preserving the fundamental decencies and unwritten laws in human, national and international relationships. These decencies do not need any definition and are well enough understood by those who claim to be civilized. They are part of a well recognized rule of law between the nations."

Replying to a remark made by Mr. Heaton Nichols of South Africa to the Indian languages, Mrs. Pandit asked: "How does the fact that Indians write in two scripts affect their right to freedom and franchise?"

The Russian delegate supporting Mrs. Pandit's arguments said: "Racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa has assumed such proportions that the Indian Government deemed itself obliged not only to protest to the United Nations but also to apply certain other measures which testify to the fact that the relations between these two countries are far from normal. The situation is becoming more and more grave. The United Nations cannot fail to pay due attention to the complaints of India under the Charter. South Africa has violated not only the Capetown Agreement, but also the obligations it assumed under the United Nations Charter.

"No body has denied the fact that racial laws in South Africa were better than the situation of Negroes. This comparison does not reinforce the position taken by South African Government. It merely shows how difficult are the conditions not only for Indians but for the whole of the Negro population. The situation of the coloured population in South Africa and discrimination carried out against it provokes

## SMUTS TROUNCED

something more than astonishment among the people of the Soviet Union where no discriminations exist and where any propaganda of racial or national supremacy character is punished by law. It is certainly the task of the United Nations to exclude and destroy such social plagues as racial discrimination."

## SMUTS'S DEFENCE

Smuts's defence for the charges of discrimination that the Indian Delegation made against South Africa was the least convincing. Instead of defending his Government's discriminatory actions, he said: "The Indians should be the last persons to throw stones at others and make charges of class distinctions and discriminations against any other country. These charges come with ill-grace from a delegate speaking on behalf of India. Is there a country in the wide-world where there is more social discrimination between communities and classes than in the Indian society? Has the delegate for India forgotten the 50,000,000 Depressed classes with all the social ostracism and humiliation they have to endure? Is the clash

of communities in India, based on religious class distinctions, not the most terrifying phenomenon in the contemporary world, against which even Mr. Gandhi has protested in the strongest terms and so far protested in vain?

"Are these clashes not going on this very moment when India is assuming control of her own destiny?"

Pleading that South Africa was free from violent internal antagonisms, F.M. Smuts continued: "It is to prevent such conditions of social clash arising in South Africa where so many races, culturees and colours come together that the Union is doing its best, *on fair, decent and wise lines* to keep the different elements as much convenient as possible and away from unnecessary intermixture and so prevent bloody affrays like those in India and such as we read of in other countries."

This really was the strange reply to the charges brought against South Africa by India. Smuts's comparison of conditions in South Africa with those in India was entirely misleading. In India maximum efforts were being

made to stampede out of existence as early as possible all social discriminations which are deeply rooted into historical background. India anyhow does not seek to justify these social ills as South Africa is trying to do. And this fact does make a great difference.

Mrs. Pandit remarked very aptly in this connection: "In the Union what is being done is the reverse process of legalizing disabilities which in India never had the force of law and which Indians are contending not without success to remove." And indeed India would be highly thankful to F—M Smuts if he could offer suggestions for the removal of the social ills from which India was suffering. Anyhow the disappearing evils of India should not become examples for introduction of new or perpetuation of old evils in South Africa.

On November 30, the Indian Delegation withdrew their own resolution regarding the South African-Indian issue in favour of a joint resolution submitted by the delegations of France and Mexico. This resolution required the Governments of South Africa and India to

report at the next Session of the General Assembly of the U. N. O. what measures had been adopted by them to affect a settlement of the dispute. It also declared that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter.

Favouring this resolution as a conciliatory measure, Mrs. Pandit said: "In view of the fact that we are not here with any vindictive spirit, that our sole objective is to create conditions in the world under which not only peace might prevail and that the United Nations may function successfully and reach their achievements, we do not wish to place in the way of this Committee any difficulties in the matter of voting, and therefore withdraw our resolution in favour of the joint proposal of France and Mexico."

Twenty four countries voted in favour of the French-Mexican resolution and 19 against it. An analysis of voting showed that the countries voting in favour of the proposal were:— France,

## SMUTS TROUNCED

Mexico, India, Russia, China, Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gatemala, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Phillipines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukraine, Uruguav, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The opposing countries were:— United Kingdom, United States, South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, El Slavador, Greece, Iceland, Luxemburg, Netherland, Nicarangua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru and Sweden.

But Since at least two thirds majority was needed for the final success of the Indian case, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit again made a stirring appeal to the conscience of the world on December 9. This had the desired effect on many members and when on the next day final voting took place, India won the support of 32 nations against 15 voting on the side of South Africa and Seven members abstaining participation.

While it was gratifying to note that many of the white nations boldly denounced discrimination against coloured peoples and voted



for India, the attitude of Great Britain and United States of America who had always boasted for their uncompromising attitude towards democracy and racial equality was most appalling. United States might have taken sides with South Africa for avoiding the United Nations from establishing a precedent in making its effective contribution towards knocking out of existence the racial discrimination, on account of her fear that in its future career, the U. N. O. might also take up the case of American negroes who are at present oppressed by the white community of the United States through poll tax, the lynch laws, the black belts, and the Harlems. This, of course, did not justify her stand from the point of view of morality and justice.

Great Britain, however, seemed to be entirely swayed by prejudice and expediency. Her open support for South Africa and Field Marshal's undemocratic case, created many doubts in the Indian mind regarding the desirability of India's remaining in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

There was enough reason for Syed Raza

## SMUTS TROUNCED

Ali to remark that "The British and U. S. A. performance is sufficient to make Gladstone and Lincoln—even the imperialist Cecil Rhodes, who was an advocate of equal rights for all civilized people—turn in their graves."

The adoption by the United Nations of the French-Mexican proposal, inspite of the strong opposition of Great Britain and U. S. A., besides constituting the second moral victory for India, Asia, and the whole coloured population of the world, demonstrated that the oppressed nations of the world could expect to get a sympathetic hearing at the United Nations Organization.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru expressing his thanks to the nations who espoused India's cause and made its success possible, declared: "This decision (of the U. N. O.) affects not only India but the whole world, for it means that a majority of world opinion as represented in the United Nations has set its face against discrimination of colour or race."

"This is a vital decision" added Pandit Nehru "which if acted upon in future will

remove one of the major causes of international conflicts."

India's victory in her case before the U.N.O. is attributable to many forces that worked for the righteous cause which India had espoused and to which the world opinion had rallied. But to my mind not a little of it may be assigned to the grandiose personality of the Hero of this book who conducted the Indian battle from New Delhi with his redoubtable courage and influence.

Let us hope that Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, the Premier of South Africa, will take note of the fact of India's approaching independence and will, with great speed, abandon his callous disregard for the rights of non-European population of his country, so that when the next session of the United Nations Assembly is held the artificial discrimination between the white and the black should become, both in theory and practice, a thing of the past.

## Appendix A.

*(Nehru's statement of his foreign policy given to a Press Conference on September 26, 1946)*

In the sphere of foreign affairs India will follow an independent policy keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. She will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill and for ending the exploitation of one nation by another.

Towards the United Nations Organization India's attitude will be that of whole-hearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the Charter governing it. To that end India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical

position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her. In particular, the Indian Delegation will make it clear that India stands for the independence of all colonial and dependent peoples and their full right to self-determination.

The most important item from India's point of view is the case against South Africa. It is understood that South Africa will contend that the matter is not within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly as it is essentially one of domestic jurisdiction. With this contention the Government of India do not agree. In their view the treatment of Indians in South Africa is fundamentally a moral and human issue which in view of the "purposes" and "principles" so clearly stated in the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly cannot disregard.

As regards India's viewpoint on trusteeship system, the Indian Delegation will stress that sovereignty everywhere vests in the people of a country. If for any reason immediate freedom is not feasible India would not object to the

## APPENDIX

territory being placed under the United Nations Trusteeship for a limited period. The attitude of the Indian Delegation will be that all Asians and the people of the dependent countries stand together for freedom and for emancipation from foreign control, as this is the only way to bring about world peace and progress.

Another item of importance concerns the Union of South Africa's wish to absorb the mandated territory of South-West Africa. This proposition India's delegation will oppose on a matter of principle. The Government of India consider that annexation of mandated territories would be fundamentally opposed to the conception of mandates and trusteeships and that sovereignty resides ultimately in the people of a territory, whose wishes and interests are paramount. The correct course in their view would be for South-West Africa to be placed first under Trusteeship Council and General Assembly of the United Nations and then to consider its future.

Two items on the United Nations agenda are connected with the privilege of veto enjoyed

by the Five Great Powers in the Security Council—or as those countries prefer to term it, “the rule of great power unanimity.” The attitude of the Indian Delegation towards this controversial issue will be that, although on principle India cannot like such undemocratic provision in the Charter she attaches greatest importance to the continuance of great power unanimity and co-operation within the framework of the United Nations and would do nothing to prejudice that position.

For two reasons India has refrained from presenting a formal claim for reparations from Italy. First, because she has no wish to reduce the amount of reparations available to countries whose claims may be entitled to priority of consideration, and second, because she preferred not to add to that heavy burden which Italy must carry up the steep hill towards economic recovery. The Delegation has however reserved the right to utilize Italian assets in India towards liquidating Indian nationals' claims to compensation for damages arising out of the war and for meeting in part certain other claims.

## APPENDIX

India has expressed her great concern about the future of the ex-Italian colonies. And it is now sure that India will be consulted before any final decision is taken in this matter.

The immigration bills introduced in the legislatures of three of the East African colonies has caused a great deal of apprehension both in India and among Indians in those colonies. The Delegation, headed by Sir Maharaj Singh contacted the people there—Indians, Africans, Europeans, and others—and the Government of India was awaiting its report.

Unfortunately there has been for some time past a kind of impasse with regard to our relations with Ceylon. Many things have happened there in recent months or years for the matter of that, which have agitated us a great deal. But we have tried our utmost and we propose to continue trying, to approach the people of Ceylon and the Ceylon Government in a friendly manner because it is inevitable that Ceylon and India must pull together in future and we do not want a trace of bad blood between us.



## APPENDIX

I welcome the proposed (now accomplished) formation of a new Government in Burma under Major General Aung San. I welcome it from many points of view, first of all in the hope that this will lead rapidly to the freedom and independence of Burma, and secondly that we not only hope but expect that the relations between our Government and the new Burmese Government will be friendly and cordial.

It was a very well-known fact that we were hundred percent in sympathy with the Indonesian Republic. We want them to win through and establish their freedom in Indonesia and we should like to help and support them in every way in their task. We have not recognized the Indonesian Republic in the formal sense that nations recognized other nations, but in practice we recognize it.

India would follow a very friendly policy towards Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Nepal is an independent country so far as we are concerned. If in the future Nepal chooses to have some kind of closer union with India we shall welcome it.

So far as her near neighbours are concerned

India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, China, Siam and Indo-China, as well as in the foreign possessions in India itself with every sympathy for the aspirations of the peoples of these lands for the attainment of internal peace, freedom (where they lack it) and of their due place in the comity of nations.

With the United States and China India already has a form of diplomatic contact. The relations thus already existing will, it is hoped, shortly be strengthened by the exchange of representatives on independent diplomatic footing.

At present there are Indian diplomatic officials in the U.S.A. and China, High Commissioners in Australia and South Africa (the last being at present in India), Representatives in Burma, Ceylone, and Malaya and Trade Commissioners in several countries. With the creation of new Indian Foreign Service, the existing posts will be strengthened and new ones opened. It will be necessary to work out a system of priorities but obviously first consideration will have to be given to countries with

## APPENDIX

which we already have contacts and to our neighbours in the east as well as in the west.

The Government propose as soon as practicable to examine in consultation with all the interests concerned, the problem of the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier. The question is one of All-India importance, for the tribes are the guardians of the Northern doorway to India and the security and well-being of these areas is a definite factor in the defence of this country. I should like to make it clear that in reviewing the problem there is no intention whatsoever of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they have defended so jealously and valiantly for many years, still less to impose any scheme on them against their will. It follows then that the Government's approach to the problem will be essentially a friendly one seeking in co-operation and consultation with the tribesmen, ways and means of solving their economic difficulties, promoting their welfare generally and bringing them into a happy and mutually beneficial association with their neighbours in the settled districts. The Frontier question is of All-India importance,

## APPENDIX

But it has also a wider aspect than this. The tribal areas lie along an international frontier—the frontier which divides India from its friendly neighbour, Afghanistan. From this situation arises an international obligation, for our friends, the Afghans, looked to us to preserve peace and order in the tribal areas in the interests of the tranquillity of their own country. They must rest assured that in seeking a new approach to the problem the fullest regard will be paid to our obligations.

We shall like to establish diplomatic relations with Russia. Since at the present moment we have no relations with this country we will have to explore, investigate and then establish them after consultation with the Soviet Government. We certainly want to develop these relations from every point of view because apart from Russia's intrinsic importance in world affairs to-day, the Soviet Union is our neighbour and it is always desirable to have good neighbourly relations with neighbours.

Government of India intend to send a good-will mission to the Middle Eastern

## APPENDIX

countries—Egypt, Iran and Iraq, not with a view to conveying any special political message but a message of good-will and friendliness and our desire to have closer relations, diplomatic and cultural.

# Appendix B.

## DECLARATION OF OBJECTIVES

*Resolution on the declaration of objectives, moved  
by Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly  
on December 12, 1946.*

This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic and to draw up for her future governance a constitution.

Wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the states, as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the independent sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all; and

Wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly, and, thereafter, according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the

## APPENDIX

status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

Wherein all power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government, are derived from the people; and

Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic and political; equality of status of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

Whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the republic and its sovereign

## APPENDIX

rights on land, sea and air, according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

This ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

*Introducing the above resolution Pandit Nehru declared :—*

“The Constituent Assembly is embarking upon the high adventure of giving shape in printed and written words to the Indian nation’s dream and aspiration. At this stage it is surely desirable that we should give some indication to ourselves, to those millions in this country who were looking up to us and the world at large, of what we aimed at, what we sought to achieve, whither we were going.

“I wish to make it clear that so far as this resolution or declaration is concerned, it does not interfere in any way with any future work that this Constituent Assembly may do, or with any future negotiations which it may un-



## APPENDIX

dertake. Only in one sense, if you like, does it limit our work, if you call that a limitation, that is, we adhere to certain fundamental propositions which are laid down in this declaration; and these fundamental propositions, I do submit, are not controversial in any real sense of the word.

“We have given the content of democracy in this resolution, and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy.

“Others may take objection to this resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a Socialist Republic. I stand for socialism and I hope India will stand for socialism and that India will go towards the constitution of a Socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way. The form of socialism again is another matter for your consideration, but the main thing is that in such a resolution, if in accordance with my own desire I do put in that we want a Socialist State, we will be putting in something which may be agreeable to many and may not be agreeable to some and we want this resolution not to

be controversial in regard to such matters. Therefore, we have laid down not theoretical words and formulae but rather the content of the thing we desire.

“We are going to make a constitution for India and it is obvious that what we are going to make in India, will have a powerful effect on the rest of the world. Even today on the verge of freedom as we are, India has begun to play an important part in world affairs. ;That part will grow, and therefore it is right that the framers of our constitution should always bear this larger international aspect too in mind. We approach the world in a friendly way. We want to make friends with all countries. We want to make friends in spite of the long history of conflict in the past with England also.

“In this Constituent Assembly we are functioning on a world stage, and the eyes of the world are upon us, the eyes of our entire past are upon us, and though the future is still unborn, the future too looks at us. And so I would beg of this House to consider the resolution in this mighty perspective of the past, of

## APPENDIX

the turmoil of the present and of the great unborn future that awaits us.

“What I hereby move is something much more than a resolution ; it is a declaration ; it is a firm resolve ; it is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication. I wish this House, if I may say so respectfully, to consider this resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording but to look at the spirit behind the resolution. Words are magic things often enough but even the magic of words sometimes cannot convey the magic of the human spirit and of a nation’s spirit and so I cannot say that this resolution at all conveys the passion that lies in the hearts and the minds of the Indian people to-day.”





